To sum up, the sites of the theatres were in decline in the early Byzantine period. Most of them, especially in smaller cities, fell out of use in the fourth century. In other cases the theatres were abandoned after they had been damaged by natural calamities. In the sixth century only a few theatres throughout the empire, especially in major cities, were still functioning as spectacle buildings. Some were used as assembly places for public speeches or for performances by Christians. The majority were left to decay and their stones were recycled for other constructions. At all sites conversion for private use is strikingly noticeable. In the substructures of the cavea or in the interior where soil gradually accumulated private dwellings with workshops or agricultural installations were built. Parts of some theatres were taken over by small churches. Procopius, influenced by classical literary models, still considered theatres an adornment of a city and, together with other buildings, an index of its prosperity.[1801] Outside the literary world of Procopius, however, theatres underwent attacks by clerics on moral and religious grounds, suffered from diminished interest on the part of municipalities and endured the politically motivated imperial ban on shows.

[1801] Procopius, *De aedificiis* II.10.22: ὅσοις ἡ πόλις κεκόσμηται, θεάτρῳ τε αὐτῇ καὶ βαλανείῳ (Antioch); *De Bello Gothico* VIII.2.14: θεάτρῳ δὲ καὶ λουτρῷ ἐκαλλωπίζετο.

CHAPTER 11

BATHS AND AQUEDUCTS

On a Small Bath Revile not small things. Small things possess charm. Cypris' son, Eros, was small too.[1802]

Baths

Baths were an essential feature of urban life in the Roman empire.[1803] Various literary texts and inscriptions depict bathing as a personal and social experience of civilized life in cities. Orators throughout the Roman world extol the ideal of bathing and praise the magnificent architecture of baths. People enjoyed bathing, for it provided pleasure and an aesthetically appealing setting. Considerations of hygiene also played a role. Some baths at natural hot springs attracted bathers because of their healing power. Many baths were associated with games and gymnasia and were thus the focus of social life and cultural events. The large number of baths in individual Roman cities is indicative of how much the Romans appreciated bathing. Eleven large baths are recorded in Rome and 856 smaller units.[1804] In provincial cities in the East, there were also large numbers of baths. In the late Roman period 1,561 baths are recorded in Alexandria,[1805] whilst in Antioch about 20 public baths are known, most of which were built by Roman emperors and are recorded by Malalas. Fourteen hot public baths have been excavated at Kourion in Cyprus.[1806] Fourteen Roman and late Roman baths are known in Argos, most of which are not published and it remains uncertain how many of them functioned at any one time.[1807] Construction of baths in cities was a matter of civic pride. Libanius praises the beauty of baths of Antioch, public and private, and refers to the efforts on the part of the city's tribes to compete among themselves in the construction of the most beautiful baths.[1808] Baths were a necessary facility even in small towns. Arif, a sixth-century town in Lycia, with an estimated population of about 1,000, had two

[1802] Paul Silentiarius, Εἰς λουτρὸν μικρὸν Μὴ νηπίου βλασφέν· μικρὰ δοκοῦσι δοκεῖν· / Βακὸς καὶ Πειθὼς βάλανο κεῖται· Ἔρως / Ἔρως (*Anthologia Graeca* IX.784).

[1803] E. Brödner, *Die römischen Thermen und das antike Badewesen* (Darmstadt 1983); W. Heinz, *Römische Thermen. Badewesen und Badekultur im Römischen Reich* (Munich 1983); R. Ginouvès, *Balneotechnie. Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris 1962).

[1804] Notitia Urbis Regionum XIV.

[1805] Alston, *The City*, 160-161.

[1806] D. Christou, Excavations at Kourion, *ARDA* 1992 (1998), 80.

[1807] A. Panayotopoulos, Ρωμαϊκά και υστερορωμαϊκά λουτρά στο Άργος, in *Argos*, 377.

[1808] Libanius, *Or.* XI.244-245 (I, 523-524).

baths.[1839] Rural settlements, however, rarely had bathing facilities. In northern Syria, only eight small baths are recorded for a total of around 700 sites. Best preserved are the baths of Sergilla, architecturally important since they mark the transition from the Roman bath to the early hamam.[1840] The importance of baths in the sixth century is demonstrated in Justinianic legislation whereby baths are ranked next to works designed to provide security, such as walls and forts, works ensuring communication, such as ports, streets and bridges, food supply and aqueducts.[1841] The custom of bathing was also very attractive to some of the barbarians who adopted it in imitation of the Byzantine way of life.[1842]

Baths were associated with paganism in various ways. Their decoration employed a repertoire of pagan themes in wall frescoes, mosaics, statues and epigrams. The gods particularly associated with baths were Aphrodite, the Graces, Eros, the Nymphs, Dionysus, and Apollo. In Constantinople, the Baths of Zeuxippus contained a large collection of pagan statues representing ancient gods, mythical heroes, philosophers, poets, orators, and historical figures, a range of statues which made a statement of the cultural and political continuity of the new empire of Constantinople with ancient Greek and Roman civilizations.[1843] Some baths with therapeutic powers were directly connected with temples, while other public baths were connected with the imperial cult.[1844] Religious rituals performed at the entrances of the baths are attested as late as the fifth century and were a matter of serious concern to Christian Fathers. The association of baths with paganism and with the pagan ideal of life made them a target of the Christian Fathers. The baths are an inappropriate place for Christians to frequent and Church Fathers advise that they be avoided.[1845] Clement of Alexandria condemned bathing by women in mixed baths on moral grounds and recommended bathing for women only for sanitary and hygienic reasons, and for men for hygienic reasons. Bathing for enjoyment was forbidden.[1846] In most early Christian texts, it is the care of the body and the pleasures associated with it that render bathing incompatible with the Christian way of life. Such ideas were not totally new, since pagan intellectuals also condemned bathing as an expression of a licentious lifestyle.[1847] Renunciation of bathing for pleasure is praised in hagiographical sources as a virtue. In these texts, bathing is associated with the evils of urban life and it is mentioned alongside taverns and prostitutes.[1848] In an edifying story by Moschus, the monks of a

[1839] R. M. Harrison and G. R. J. Lawson, An Early Byzantine Town at Arif in Lycia, *Yayla* 2 (1979), 17.

[1840] G. Charpentier, Les bains de Sergilla, *Syria* 71 (1994), 113-142. See also idem, Les petits bains proto-byzantins de la Syrie du nord, *Topoi* 5 (1995), 219-247. The origin of the Islamic baths may be traced back to the reduced scale of the early Byzantine baths: Kennedy, From *Polis*, 9-10.

[1841] *CJ* 1.4.26 (a. 530).

[1842] Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico* IV.6.6; *De Bello Gothico* VIII.19.17; Joshua the Stylite, c. 75 (p. 60).

[1843] See R. Stupperich, Das Statuenprogramm in den Zeuxippos-Thermen. Überlegungen zur Beschreibung durch Christodoros von Koptos, *IstMit* 32 (1982), 210-235; S. Guberti-Bassett, The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, *DOP* 45 (1991), 87-96; idem, *Historiae custos*. Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos, *AJA* 100 (1996), 491-506; Saradi, Perceptions, 39-57.

[1844] See P. Aupert, Les thermes comme lieux de culte, in *Les thermes romains, Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 11-12 novembre 1988)* (Rome 1991), 185-192; J. Scheid, Sanctuaires et thermes sous l'empire, ibid., 205-216.

[1845] On Christian attitudes toward bathing see Yegül, *Baths*, 315-318; Zellinger, *Bad*, 24-46; Berger, *Das Bad*, 34 ff.

[1846] Clement of Alexandria, *PG* 8, 600-604, 617-620.

[1847] Julian, *Or.* VI.186D: τοῦ καθαρεύειν τὰ εἴσω πάντα, τὰ περιττὰ καὶ βδέλυγμα καὶ φυθίζει τῆς πόλεως ἀπελήλασται, λουτρὰ δημόσια καὶ γυμνασιάρχαι καὶ καπηλεῖα καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. On criticism of bathing by pagans see Yegül, *Baths*, 40-43.

[1848] *Vita S. Symeonis Stylitae Iun.*, c. 6; *Vita S. Matronae*, c. 2 (p. 791B), c. 43 (p. 809E); Cyril of Scythopolis, 202.25 ff.; Moschus, 3036A; *Apophthegmata Patrum*, 324D; Anastasius Sinaites, *PG* 89, 1157A.

monastery of Cilicia built a bath over a spring, in spite of the hegoumenos' warnings. The spring immediately dried up and the water started to flow again only when the bath had been demolished.[1849]

However, bathing was an institution deeply rooted in the urban life of the Roman world and its tenacity even among the early Christians is indicated in various sources.[1850] Thus, for example, bishop Sisinnius of Constantinople used to take a bath twice a day, because he was not allowed to bathe three times a day.[1851] When Theodosius ordered that the baths in Antioch be closed, John Chrysostom notes that the absence of bathing was devastating, for it was an old and necessary custom.[1852] It is therefore not surprising that Church Fathers reached a compromise: moderate use of baths was safe for Christians and, indeed, was recommended.[1853] Christian writers employed various arguments in an attempt to justify the use made by holy men of baths. For example, Dorotheus of Gaza, when he was studying with a *sophister*, went to the baths every day to revitalize his body after the exhaustion of hard study.[1854] Nevertheless, in Christian texts the views expressed on bathing are often ambivalent. For example, St. Symeon Salos visited the women's baths in Edessa as a spiritual exercise in order to resist the passions likely to arise in such an environment. In another episode, however, Symeon is accompanied to the baths by two angels and so receives divine sanction for his bathing.[1855] Bathing was also associated with ancient religious rituals of purification and ceremonies denoting acceptance into a social group. The new students of the Academy arriving at Athens participated in an institutionalized ceremony, which included bathing. They emerged from their bath as the equal of the students already initiated and thus were accepted into the group.[1856] Christianity invested bathing with spiritual significance through its use of baptism, while in theological texts baths and bathing are used as metaphors for spiritual renewal and purification.[1857] The ritual of miraculous healing by saints often included washing in a bath.[1858] In one of the *Miracles* of Saints Cyrus and John at their shrine outside Alexandria, the baths by the church are considered to be as holy as the church itself: the faithful would bathe, pray and receive a double blessing.[1859] Secular baths, too, could offer healing powers, thanks to miraculous intervention by saints.[1860]

In the early Byzantine period, baths and bathing were also associated with superstitious beliefs. It was widely believed by pagans and Christians alike that baths were dangerous, because they were inhabited by evil spirits. Church Fathers wrote prayers to exorcize such demons. Protective inscriptions and symbols were used to neutralize the power of the demons and protect the bathers from human envy.[1861] In hagiographies, saints cure men struck by demons in baths, by making the sign of the cross and spelling Christ's name.[1862] Sophronius, however, rationalized the demonic attacks in the baths by explaining them as fainting (ὀλιγωρία), which often affected bathers.[1863]

[1849] Moschus, 2937C-2940A.

[1850] Zellinger, *Bad*, 1-33; Berger, *Das Bad*, 34 ff.

[1851] Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI.22.4; Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII.1.11.

[1852] John Chrysostom, *PG* 49, 151-152: σκυθρωπὸν ... χρόνιον ... καὶ ἀναγκαῖον. Καίτοι τὸ μὴ λουσασθαι χαλεπόν

[1853] Zellinger, *Bad*, 8-9, 47-67.

[1854] Dorotheus of Gaza X.105.10-12 (p. 338).

[1855] *Vita S. Symeonis Sali*, 82-83, 88.13-14; *Vita S. Melaniae Iun.*, c. 18 (p. 162).

[1856] Gregory the Theologian, *PG* 36, 516-517; Olympiodorus, fr. 28 (ed. R. C. Blockley, II, p. 192).

[1857] See, for example, John Chrysostom, *PG* 49, 223 ff.

[1858] *Miracula S. Thecae, mir.* 25.19-23 (p. 354), and pp. 68-69; *Miracula SS. Cyri et Iohannis, mir.* 8.14 (p. 256), 9.11 (p. 259), 38.7 (p. 334), 47.3-4 (p. 354), 52.3-4 (pp. 365-366).

[1859] Ibid., *mir.* 52.5 (p. 366): καὶ τὸ λουτρὸν ὡς τὸν ναὸν κατεπλήρουν, καὶ ἑκάστου βαπτιζομένου τὰ καὶ τέρματα, ναὸν αὐτὸ καὶ λουτρὸν ἀρίζοντες, καὶ διπλῆν εὐλίβεν παρ' ἑκάστου καρπούμενοι.

[1860] *Vita S. Symeonis Stylitae Iun.*, c. 220 (pp. 189-190).

[1861] K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Baiarum Grata Voluptas*: Pleasures and Dangers of the Baths, *PBSR* 57 (1989), 35 ff.

[1862] *Vita S. Symeonis Stylitae Iun.*, c. 110 (p. 89); *Vita S. Theodori Syceota*, c. 157.51-80 (pp. 128-132).

[1863] Sophronius, *PG* 87/3, 3624A.

In large cities, baths maintained the traditional features that served social life in the Roman style for longer. While the large pool was reduced in size and replaced by individual bathtubs, ornamental pools were added, as were halls for social meetings that replaced the function of the Roman communal frigidarium. The baths at Kôm el-Dikka in Alexandria were a large complex connected with the Odeum/theatre. When in the early sixth century the theatre was modified and the entrance to the baths was closed, a group of auditoria were constructed along the south and north portico of the baths. They were probably used for recitation, delivery of speeches, as halls for social meetings and relaxation. The dry rooms of the Southwest Bath in the Athenian agora with benches placed against all the walls were probably used to accommodate the audience for lectures by teachers.[1864] Texts in the sixth century still associate bathing with public gatherings and testify to the preservation of an antique lifestyle at the baths by the members of the upper class. In Antioch, the daily schedule of a typical male member of the upper class included taking a bath at the third hour, lunch at the fourth hour, meeting friends after they had attended spectacles and then taking care of his own affairs.[1865] A pagan *scholastikos* is presented in the *Life* of St. Symeon Stylites in an ancient social environment: after bathing, he sits with two *illustrii* in one of Antioch's public places, the so-called Diphoton, by the Winter Public Baths.[1866] As was the case in the Roman empire, baths continued to be a place for lavish display of wealth and social status.[1867] Rich Antiochean women used to go to the baths taking with them silver water jars and vessels and were transported in public seated on thrones adorned with silver.[1868] The moderation in bathing expected of sixth-century bathers was rarely in evidence on the part of the upper class: Theodora's licentious habit of spending many hours at the bath was criticized by Procopius.[1869] Others, however, enjoyed bathing in a different context. In Antioch, a pious and wealthy jeweller used to visit the baths of the monks four times a week, and his wife those of the women.[1870] Bathing could be enjoyed at any time, even in the late evening.[1871] During the reign of Phocas, in Constantinople, members of the upper class used in particular to visit the baths after communion. St. Theodore of Sykeon condemned this practice, which, in his view, was caused by wantonness and which had no other end than bodily enjoyment (διὰ σαρκὸς καὶ σωματικὴν ἀπόλαυσιν).[1872]

Since the Church had accepted baths and moderate bathing on grounds of hygiene, throughout the empire baths were built near ecclesiastical complexes, often near the bishop's palace.[1873] These are much smaller than the earlier Roman public baths. A typical example is the small fifth-century bath by the Acheiropoietos in Thessalonica.[1874] The bathhouse adjacent to the Octagon in Philippi, however, was a large complex.[1875] In Thebes (Nea Anchialos) five baths are known and their proximity to Chris-

[1864] On the baths of Kôm el-Dikka see supra, p. 319. See also Yegül, *Baths*, 329; T. L. Shear, Jr., The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1968, *Hesperia* 38 (1969), 394-415; Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, 32-33.

[1865] Severus, *Hom.* 105, *PO* 25 (1943), 655.

[1866] *Vita S. Symeonis Stylitae Iun.*, c. 224 (p. 195.24-26).

[1867] N. Zajac, The *thermae*: a policy of public health or personal legitimation?, *Roman Baths and Bathing*, 99-105, esp. 103-105. See also Ammianus Marcellinus XXVIII.4.9.

[1868] Severus, *Hom.* 100, *PO* 22 (1930), 247. On archaeological finds of silver vessels used for bathing see M. Mundell Mango, Artemis, 263-282. In a more modest context, archaeological excavations reveal objects used at the baths at the time of Justinian, such as clay bowls for the hot and cold water, glass unguentaria, candlesticks, oil lamps: *BCH* 117 (1993), 753.

[1869] Procopius, *Historia arcana* XV.7.1.

[1870] Daniel of Scete, 371.7-9.

[1871] Moschus, 3061D.

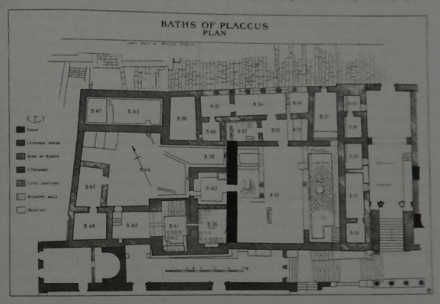
[1872] *Vita S. Theodori Syceotae*, c. 137 (p. 109).

[1873] D. I. Pallas, Episkopion, *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* II, 335-371. For the ecclesiastical baths in Italy see Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 135-141.

[1874] *AD* 49 (1994), Chr. B2, 513.

[1875] Coustarès, *Valeneio*.

tian basilicas suggests that they were ecclesiastical: two are located near Basilica A, two near Basilica C, and one outside the walls about 100 m from the Basilica of Martyrios.[1876] One of the best-known ecclesiastical baths is that of Placcus in the central ecclesiastical complex at Gerasa (Plans VI, 35) near



PLAN 35. The Baths of Placcus at Gerasa.

the temple of Artemis. An inscription indicates that bishop Placcus built the baths in 454/5.[1877] They were modest and made with ample use of spolia. Another inscription records their renovation in the last quarter of the sixth century in terms that stress the pride of a civic benefactor in a manner resembling the habits of earlier centuries (φιλόκτιστος).[1878] Construction or renovation of bathing establishments sponsored by bishops was usually part of their philanthropic program. Such baths served foreigners, the poor and sick, and otherwise needy. Bishop Theodore renovated baths for the lepers at Scythopolis.[1879] Bishops also appear as builders of baths for the entire urban community. Bishop Marcian of Gaza, in his capacity of a civic benefactor, opened a bath in the city.[1880] Baths in monastic institutions became necessary both for reasons of hygiene and relaxation and because they offered relief (παραμυθία) to the soul.[1881] Baths were built in the monastery of St. Theodore at Chora, rebuilt from the

[1876] Karagiorgou, Demetrias and Thebes, 193.

[1877] Fisher, Buildings, 265-269; Welles, Inscriptions, no. 296 (p. 475).

[1878] Ibid., no. 297 (a. 584, pp. 475-476).

[1879] M. Avi-Yonah, The Bath of the Lepers at Scythopolis, *IEJ* 13 (1963), 325-326.

[1880] Choricius, *Or.* VII.52 (p. 128.2-4): τό τε λουτρὸν ἀνέῳγεται διὰ σὲ τοῖς σὲ πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀθεεῖν φοιτῶν δυνομένοις.

[1881] Gregory of Nazianzus, *PG* 37, 220C; John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.15 (p. 18). See H. Hunger, Zum Badewesen in byzantinischen Klöstern, in *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters* (Vienna 1980), 353-364.

foundations by Justinian.[1882] Although archaeological evidence rarely reveals monastic baths of the early Byzantine period, we have the baths inside the walls of the monastery of Martyrius just 10 km east of Jerusalem, which were 13x9 m and included a caldarium, a frigidarium and apodyterium.[1883] By the end of the sixth century, the Church had appropriated the institution of bathing, and inscriptions of the sixth century record the involvement of the Church in the construction and restoration of baths.[1884] In the late sixth century, small baths were attached to churches and monasteries in converted private houses. Also baths built by emperors and members of the upper class were attached to pious associations, *diakoniai*, of the capital.[1885] Incorporation of baths in ecclesiastical complexes and initiatives by ecclesiastics in building baths is also attested in the West.[1886]

The decoration of many baths in the sixth century remained pagan. In an *ekphrasis* John of Gaza praises a mythological subject of the mural painting in the winter public baths at Gaza, or Antioch. Built during the reign of Justinian, the bath included a Christian cross and about 60 allegorical figures. The composition resembled the mosaic in Bath E at Antioch.[1887] In the restoration of Faustina's baths at Miletus by Hesychius, a renowned citizen, lawyer, and the author of the *Souda* and the city *Chronicles* in the early sixth century, ancient statues of muses and gods, including two Aphrodites, were kept, and have been found in the modern excavations.[1888] The references to desire, naked Naiads, Aphrodite and the Graces, Eros, and the Nymphs in several epigrams on baths of the Cycle of Agathias may allude to statues still to be seen in baths.[1889] In many sites, however, Christians removed ancient pagan statues on the grounds that they were offensive to Christian ethics. In the East Baths of Scythopolis, for example, the statues of the frigidarium were discarded at some time during the sixth century.[1890]

When the traditional classical themes of bath decoration were abandoned, explicitly Christian subjects were chosen for frescoes and mosaics to decorate public baths. They expressed the Christianization of the bathing environment and bathing ideology. Orthodox Christians commemorated the death of a heretic in the baths of Helenianae in Constantinople, in an image representing the incident by the bathtub, where the heretic had died.[1891] Marinus of Apamea, a chartulary, depicted Justin I in the public baths in a narrative composition showing the emperor entering Constantinople from his native village in Illyricum and the events that brought him to the throne.[1892] The tepidarium of a small public bath in the north suburb of Caesarea Maritima dating probably to the end of the sixth or to the early seventh century, was decorated with two frescoes in red, depicting the Tree of Life and a jewelled cross (Plan 36).[1893] A cross was painted in a niche in the Western Baths of Scythopolis (Figure 43). In Salamis in Cyprus, the mosaics of the north

[1882] *Vita S. Theodori Cheremnis*, c. 22 (p. 10.3): βαλανεῖον πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν τῶν πατέρων.

[1883] Y. Magen, *The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim* (Jerusalem 1993), 45; V. Tzaferis, Early Monks and Monasteries in the Holyland, *DOAE* 15 (1989-1990), 55-56.

[1884] Di Segni, Epigraphic documentation, 155-156.

[1885] Berger, *Das Bad*, 156; P. Magdalino, Church, Bath and *Diakonia* in Medieval Constantinople, in R. Morris (ed.), *Church and People in Byzantium. Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester, 1986* (Birmingham 1990), 165-188, esp. 183-184.

[1886] Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 135-146.

[1887] Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreibungen*, 135-213; G. Downey, John of Gaza and the Mosaic of Ge and Karpot, in *Antioch* II, 205-212; A. Cameron, On the Date of John of Gaza, *CQ* n.s. 43 (1993), 348-351.

[1888] *Milet* I/9, 168-171.

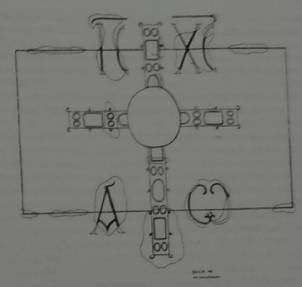
[1889] *Anthologia Graeca* IX nos. 619, 620, 623, 625, 626, 627, 633.

[1890] See infra, p. 372.

[1891] Theodoros Anagnostes, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. G. Chr. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes, Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin 1995), fr. 52a (pp. 131-132).

[1892] Zachariah of Mytilene, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII.1 (p. 18).

[1893] Horton, Bath, 179 and fig. 2.



PLAN 36. Fresco with the representation of a jewelled cross in the tepidarium of the bath at Caesarea Maritima.

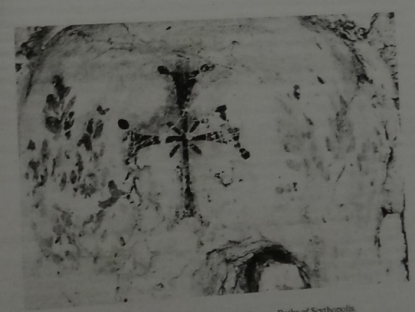


FIG. 43. A cross painted in a niche in the Western Baths of Scythopolis.

and south sudatorium were covered with a structure to conceal the pagan subjects of the composition. In the apses of the central sudatorium, a fresco with a mythological scene was covered with plaster and over it a Christian inscription was painted in red of which only the word Κυριον survives.[1894] Bathing ideology conveyed by inscriptions was also Christianized, while retaining several ancient concepts. The name *Hygeia* also assumed a Christian meaning, when linked with Christ's miraculous cures.[1895] Fourth-century inscriptions of the baths at Kourion combine pagan vocabulary and Christian ideas: there is reference to Christ who protects the building and to the virtues of *aidos* and *sophrosyne*, although a reference to Phoebus in one inscription is striking.[1896] In sixth-century inscriptions, the ancient concept of ἀπόλαυσις[1897] coexisted with Christian ideas.

Baths and bathing were also the theme of some literary compositions in the sixth century. We have already mentioned the *ekphrasis* of the painting in the winter public baths at Gaza or Antioch by John of Gaza. Several epigrams of the Cycle of Agathias praised baths, their ancient statuary, and bathing. The healing power of water is also mentioned.[1898] While in most of these epigrams the poets' inspiration derives from ancient mythology and ideals, contemporary trends are also to be discerned. Leontius Scholasticus praises the privacy enjoyed in a small bath built by the gate of the public bath in Constantinople: "A citizen built me at the gate of the public bath for excellence, not for competition (ἀρετῆς εἵνεκεν, οὐκ ἔριδος). Let that serve many; I supply water and scent and charm to an intimate few (κεῖνο μέλοι πλόνεσσιν· ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγοις τε φίλοις τε ἐντύνω προχοὰς καὶ μύρα καὶ χάριτας)".[1899] The preference of intellectuals for small baths is also found in Latin texts: Sidonius Apollinaris and his friends after a meeting at a private house chose a small public bath that suited their sense of personal modesty.[1900] The inscription in a sixth-century bath mosaic on Mount Ophel in Jerusalem reveals a shift from an open social life to the privacy of the family: that *komes* Eugenius, who restored the baths, may bathe in health and enjoy his buildings with his family.[1901] Bathing is now presented as a family matter, rather than as a public activity. Such a shift from public to private life shows the early Byzantine period to be a prelude to the Middle Ages.[1902] In some texts there is an emphasis on baths in the countryside. Byzantine sources praise baths on country estates for the idyllic scenery of the physical environment. St. Melania the Younger owned a bath in an estate (κτῆμα) with sixty-two households (ἐποίκια), and described by her in these words: "We had an extraordinary piece of property, and on it was a bath that surpassed any worldly splendour. On one side of it was the sea, and on the other, a forest with diverse vegetation in which wild boar, deer, gazelles, and other animals used to graze. From the pool, the bathers could see boats sailing on one side and the animals in the wood on the other".[1903] The ancient

[1894] B. Karageorghis, Ἀνασκαφαὶ Σαλαμῖνος 1964-1966, *RDAC* 1966, 13, 15.

[1895] *IGSyr* IV, no. 1685 (Androna: El-Anderin in Syria): Τὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ λουτροῦ; Ὑγεία. Διὰ τοῦτης εἰσελθὼν, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκάθαρεν ἡμᾶν τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς ἰάσεως; S. Mitmann, Die Inschriften des spätantiken Bades in Umm Qâ, *ZDPV* 82 (1966), 71-73.

[1896] Mitford, *Inscriptions*, nos. 201-204 (pp. 352-359).

[1897] For example, L. Stager and D. Ease, Ashkelon 1985-1986, *IEJ* 37 (1987), 72.

[1898] *Anthologia Graeca* IX.631.

[1899] Ibid., IX.624 (transl. Paton).

[1900] *Carmen* XXIII.495-499: hinc ad balnea, non Neroniana / nec quae Agrippa dedit vel ille, cuius / bustum Dalmaticae vident Salonae, / ad thermas tamen ire sed libebat / privato bene praebitas pudori.

[1901] J. Crowfoot, *PEFQ* 1929, 16, pl. IV; M. Avi-Yonah, Mosaic Pavements in Palestine, *QDAP* 2 (1932), 175 (no. 146); L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1976, no. 751: τὸ μὲ ἀνανεώσας ψηφῖδι κοσμήσας· ἐν ὑγίᾳ λουσόμενος ἀπολαύσας τῶν σῶν κτισμάτων, κύριε κύριε Εὐγένιε, μὲ τῶν σωστοῦ.

[1902] H. G. Saradi, Από την καθημερινότητα του χριστοβυζαντινού αρχοντοκράτη, in *Βυζαντινοί κράτος και κοινωνία. Σύγχρονες κατευθύνσεις της έρευνας*, National Research Foundation (Athens 2003), 57-87.

[1903] *Vita S. Melaniae Iun.*, c. 18 (p. 162) (transl. E. A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, New York 1984).

theme of bodily pleasure arising from bathing is replaced by the bathers' enjoyment of the idyllic natural environment. Bathing ideology and experience were now marked by enjoyment in the privacy of small baths, in a family environment and in an idyllic natural setting.[1904]

The ideological changes brought about by Christianity, as well as new cultural preferences emphasizing privacy that might have developed independently of the new religion, affected the architecture of bathing establishments from the fourth century on. The palaestra, which, together with the Greek agora, was the most important centre of social life, was removed. The frigidarium, the larger room and the centre of social activity, decreased in size, whilst a new, smaller hall was used for reception, relaxation and dressing. The large common pool for men and women was abandoned and subdivided into smaller bathing units.[1905] The reduction in the size of the pool might have also been dictated by the need to conserve water. The large pool in the baths of Galerius in Thessalonica, for example, was removed and replaced by an apsidal fountain and the apse of a small room was converted into a pool,[1906] the trend being generally to reduce the size of public baths. The difficulties faced by communities in covering the fuel expenses of large public baths might also have played a role in the reduction in the size of the baths.

Building and restoration of large public baths had been a traditional imperial policy. The symbolic connection of the institution of bathing with urban life is made explicit in the decision of Constantine to open the public baths of Zeuxippus on the 11th of May 330, the anniversary of the foundation of Constantinople.[1907] In Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries, the restoration of most of the baths was ordered and funded by the emperors and their delegates. There, among the utility buildings, the baths occupy the first place. They account for 29.2% of utility buildings, as opposed to spectacle buildings (7.9%) and walls (7.9%).[1908] Malalas praises the emperor Anastasius for building public baths in all the cities of the empire among his other construction projects. He specifically mentions the two public baths in Daras, restored and promoted to the status of a city. Daras, a frontier city in Mesopotamia, was a military post and the baths were obviously meant to serve the garrison stationed there. Their importance for the city is suggested by the fact that they are mentioned first among the other public works undertaken there, namely churches, porticoes, storehouses and cisterns.[1909] Justin I is also praised for building baths at Antioch but in connection with the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian.[1910] Restoration of baths was part of Justinianic building policy, but it was not a priority. The emperor restored or built new baths in new imperial foundations to endow them with the prestige of a city. He also built them in large cities, in cities with garrisons for the soldiers' enjoyment and hygiene, and in cities with hot springs, for therapeutic purposes. Not one bath, however, was built or restored by Justinian in Greece. In other areas to the north, baths are mentioned in Justiniana Prima, in the restored city of Ciberis in the Chersonese, and near Anchialus on the Euxine at the site of warm springs where the new baths were fortified with a wall to protect them from the raids of barbarians. The baths mentioned in the provinces of the East and North Africa satisfied specific needs of the troops or were built in settlements promoted to cities. On the Mesopotamian *limes*, baths were built in Circesium and Zenobia, both military settlements. Procopius

[1904] On the social role of public baths in early Byzantium and ideological changes see also Mango, Daily Life, 337-341; A. Lumpe, Zur Kulturgeschichte des Bades in der byzantinischen Ära, *BzeF* 6 (1979), 151-166; Berger, *Das Bad*, 21 ff.

[1905] R. Ginouvès, Sur un aspect de l'évolution des bains en Grèce vers le IVe siècle de notre ère, *BCH* 79 (1955), 135-152; Yegül, *Baths*, 461; I. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balneae: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths* (Aarhus 1990), I, 152; Berger, *Das Bad*, 90-93.

[1906] Ph. Athanasiou et al., Τὸ λουτρὸ των ανακτόρων του Γαλερίου, *AEMT* 13 (1999), 191-206; Yegül, *Baths*, 326.

[1907] Malalas, 246.6-9.

[1908] Jouffroy, *La construction*, 167-168, 319 ff., 331.

[1909] Malalas, 426-427, 335.62.

[1910] Ibid., 351.52.

explicitly refers to the emperor's concern to offer the soldiers in Circesium bathing amenities: "he restored to the troops there [in Circesium] the enjoyment which they gained from the bath". He also restored the baths of Palmyra, where a *numerus* of soldiers was stationed. In Asia Minor three new baths were built: one at Pythia (modern Yalova) in Bithynia on the site of hot springs with therapeutic qualities, particularly popular among the inhabitants of Constantinople; another bath was built in Mocessus of Cappadocia, a fortress promoted to a metropolis, whilst a third was built in Helenopolis in Bithynia, which was in decline, and another restored. Two other baths were refurbished, one in Nicaea in Bithynia at the lodgings of the couriers of the Public Post, and a second one in Nicomedia. The baths of Antioch were also restored, while in Phoenicia a bath is mentioned at Curicum. Baths in North Africa are mentioned at Taphosiris by Alexandria, in Bernice in Libya, in Leptis Magna, and in the Maritime Agora of Carthage, named after the empress Theodorianae.[1911]

Maintenance of large bathing establishments was no longer possible for municipalities and the central government. Procopius expresses the reality of his time, when he states that the large bath called Antoninus in Nicomedia was not expected to be restored on account of its size (μοῖρα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη καταπεπτώκει, μεγέθει τοῦ ἔργου ἀπροσδόκητος ὅτι δὴ ἀνοικοδομηθήσεται γεγενημένη).[1912] In general, large Roman public bathhouses were not maintained, for they had become very expensive. The Commodium, a public bath in Antioch built by Commodus, became the praetorium of the governor of Syria.[1913] Neglect on the part of the civic administration in maintaining public baths is illustrated in a decree of Honorius and Theodosius in 424, whereby the emperors took the initiative of regulating the fundraising for maintenance of the baths of Constantinople. The income of the houses and workshops erected in the porticoes of the baths of Zeuxippus was to be used for the construction of new windows, repairs of the roofs and maintenance of the capital's baths.[1914]

In the sixth century, the expense of the maintenance and heating of the baths was covered by civic, public or private funds.[1915] The annual cost of heating the baths of Alexandria was 492 gold coins.[1916] In the fifth and sixth centuries, governors were still maintaining baths in their provincial capitals. All the inscriptions of the West Baths of Scythopolis date to the fifth and sixth centuries and record restoration works sponsored by governors. One inscription explains that in 535 the *komes* and consul Flavius Nysius Sergius built the baths' north portico "without touching public money".[1917] This was a private donation by the governor. Indeed, in the large cities of the empire members of the upper class still showed some interest in maintaining public baths. This certainly anticipates the preservation of the institution in the Middle Ages. An inscription from Epiphaneia in the province of Syria Secunda, probably from a statue, commemorates the enlargement of the city's winter baths by the benefactor Elias, who had been honoured by the emperor. The text of the inscription is written in Homeric language and dates to the sixth century. Elias has paid with his own money for the project and, moved by pity for the city's poor who worked for the construction, he has also paid their salaries.[1918] An inscription from Aphrodisias also records a substantial donation for the maintenance of baths in the late fifth or in the sixth century.[1919]

[1911] Procopius, *De aedificiis* IV.1.23; IV.10.21, III.7.20-23; II.6.11-12; 8.25; Malalas, 354.17 (Palmyra); Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.3.18; V.4.17; V.2.4; V.3.3; V.3.7; II.10.14 and 22; V.9.34; VI.1.13; 2.6; 4.11; 5.10.

[1912] Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.3.7.

[1913] Malalas, 261.52-53.

[1914] *CTh* XV.1.52 = *CJ* VIII.11.19.

[1915] *CJ* I.4.26; X.30.4 (a. 530); *Novella* 160; Edict XIII.14-15.

[1916] Edict XIII.15.

[1917] Mazor, *ESI* 6 (1987/88), 14-17.

[1918] *IGSyr* V, no. 1999: . . . ἔτευξεν δοὺς κτάτισα λοετῶν χαμαιενῶν πλατύνας, πτόλιος δ' ἐλέαιρε πένητας, τέχνης οἳ τὰ ἔκαστα δαήμονες ἡμιπτάνοντα, ἐκ σφετέρης παρέχων τὰ τελέσματα οἰκίας αὐτός.

[1919] Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, no. 74 (p. 115).

In other cases, the restoration of baths was undertaken at the initiative of a distinguished citizen, but with funds provided by the emperor. The baths of Faustina in Miletus were renovated early in the sixth century at the initiative of Hesychius, and the work was commemorated in an epigram. We are told that no restoration work had been undertaken in the last one hundred years, and, to achieve this, Hesychius asked for an imperial donation. The epigram praises him for being an outstanding orator and for returning to his dear fatherland the favour of having raised him (φίλῃ θρεπτήριον πάτρῃ). Hesychius set up a column with the emperor's statue and built a church. He also took the initiative in promoting construction to protect the city from silting of the river Maeander. His contributions to Miletus are recorded on the base of a statue that the citizens erected in his honour.[1920] Imperial legislation on the other hand draws a different picture, that of maladministration and corruption on the part of state officers, and of neglect and greed on the part of the members of the upper class, which had consequences for the maintenance and function of the baths. We mentioned earlier such a scenario, described in the Novel 160 regarding the funding of Aphrodisias' baths and Edict XIII regarding the funding of the baths and other civic institutions of Alexandria.[1921]

Papyri attest the payment of contributions by individuals for the maintenance of public baths in the second part of the sixth century. *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2780 (a. 553) contains a receipt for the salary of the water-supplier (ὑδροχόος) of the public baths, addressed to Flavia Gabrielia, who held the offices of *logistes*, *proedros* and *pater* of the city. *P.SB* VI 9368 (a. 577/8) records the contribution (l. 2: ὑπὲρ μέρους) of the wealthy landowner Anastasia to 514 pounds (180 kg) of lead for pipes and basins of a public bath (l. 7: εἰς χρείαν τῶν σωλήνων καὶ γαλλίων), as it was contained in the list of the contributions and expenses (l. 3: τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς συνόψεσι). The large amount of lead suggests that it was used for the construction of the baths rather than for repairs, and this may have been the north bath at Oxyrhynchus, mentioned in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040. This papyrus dating to 596/7 contains a list of the contributors from the entire city (πάσης πόλεως) with the amount of their contribution in nomismata and carats to the fuel (σύνοψις τῶν ἐγκαυμάτων) of the new north public bath: 1. the *endoxon oikos* (the Apion) (6 n. 19.75 c.: 25%), 2. the Church (3 n. 6.25 c.: 12 %), 3. the house of *endoxotatos* Kometos (4 n. 8 c.: 16%), 4. the heirs of *endoxotatos* Ptolemaios (2 n. 19.25 c.: 10%), 5. the pagarchate (1 n. 10.5 c.: 5%), 6. the *endoxotatos* Justus and brothers (2 n. 16 c.: 10%), 7. the pagarchate (1 n. 10.5 c.: 5%), 8. the heirs of Valerius, *komes* (21.25 c.: 3%), 9. the *megaloprepestate* Euphemia (1 n. 16.5 c.: 6%), 10. the heirs of Theodoulos (1 n. 14.25 c.: 6%), 11. those from Eleme (1.75 c.: 0%).[1922] It is significant that the Church, listed second after the glorious house of the Apion, had become a major contributor to the financing of the operation of public baths. Sources show a desire to keep the baths in operation by securing funds for their fuel. Calculations indicate that the fees charged in Roman baths would have covered the cost of fuel and service.[1923] Although in reality additional funds were needed, it may also be that the number of bathers was in decline and costs could no longer be covered, perhaps because of the increasing preference for private baths.

Archaeological excavations give a picture of decline as regards most public baths in the empire. Their size was reduced by successive alterations and ultimately most of them were abandoned, whilst from the middle of the fifth century large baths were no longer built. In the majority of the sites, after a natural disaster caused partial or total destruction of the baths, restoration works were either limited to parts of them or were not undertaken at all by the communities. Then the baths were left to decay,

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[1920] *Milet* I/9, nos. 341-343 (pp. 168-170).

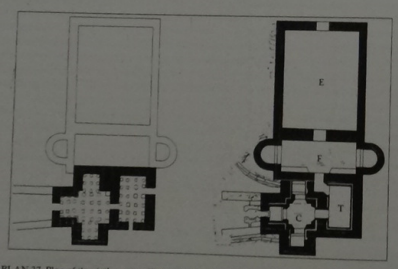
[1921] See supra, pp. 158, 161.

[1922] Alston, *The City*, 315.

[1923] P. H. Blyth, The consumption and cost of fuel in hypocaust baths, *Roman Baths and Bathing*, 87-98.

usually to be occupied by private structures. Twelve baths are known from the city of Corinth and its suburbs, of which five remain unpublished. The baths of Corinth illustrate the trends of the time. The Gymnasium Bath and the Baths of Eurykles fell out of use at the end of the fourth century.[1924] The Great Bath on the Lechaion road, a large monumental bath, was gradually abandoned in the early Byzantine period. In the fifth and sixth century debris accumulated over its court. In the late fifth to the early sixth century a lime pit was dug in the entrance impeding access to the bath from Lechaion Road. Several alterations were introduced and the pool in room 1 was closed. In its courtyard a fairly luxurious dwelling was built at the end of the fifth or early in the sixth century.[1925]

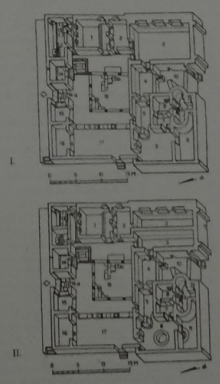
The small bath in the South Stoa of the forum was abandoned in the second half of the sixth century after the earthquake of 551.[1926] The preference for small baths is manifested here in a small rather luxurious sixth-century bath built on the southeast side of the city's forum (Plan 37). It dates probably to the second quarter or to the middle of the sixth century and its architecture and materials are characteristic of the age. The walls of the entrance hall were covered with coloured marble and the pavement made of marble slabs. The frigidarium had two small tubs, of interior diameter 1.4 m, with apsidal walls and semi domes. The walls were covered with blue schisty marble, whilst the tepidarium was barrel-vaulted and the walls covered with marble slabs. The caldarium was cruciform, with three small rooms and a central main room. The north and south rooms had small tubs, decorated with schisty blue marble revetment and covered with barrel vault.[1927] An early Byzantine bath in Thessalonica has a similar architectural arrangement. It was built in the fifth century and at the end of the early Byzantine period was levelled and a new bath, of which only the caldarium survives, was constructed on the site. This



PLAN 37. Plan of the sixth-century Panayia bath at Corinth at hypocaust level and at floor level.

[1924] C. K. Williams, II, Excavations at Corinth, 1968, *Hesperia* 38 (1969), 62-63.
[1925] *Corinth* XVII, *Corinth* XVI, 16-21.
[1926] *Corinth* Liv, 145-151, 153-154; *Corinth* XVI, 8.
[1927] G. D. R. Sanders, A Late Roman Bath at Corinth. Excavations in the Panayia Field, 1995-1996, *Hesperia* 68 (1999), 441-480.

had four semicircular apses facing each other. The two to the east have tubs covered with grey marble slabs. The walls of this phase are preserved up to 3.80 m.[1928] In the agora of Athens, several small baths, modest in design and material, were built. They were located on the southwestern side of the agora, one, the most luxurious, being located in the Palace of the Giants. The largest of all, the Southwest Bath, had rooms for lectures (Plan XV).[1929] At Philippi, the baths of the Octagon to the north of the Egnatia were 28.30x28.30 m large and included many and various rooms (Plan 38). Changes occurred in the baths in the middle of the sixth century. Some rooms were divided in two (the tepidarium and the latrine), and it was divided into two wings, one for women and the other for men. In the first half of the seventh century the wing for women ceased to function.[1930]



PLAN 38. Plan of the baths of the Octagon at Philippi. I. Early phase. II. Later phase. The entrance is to the north from the decumanus maximus. 1 & 2. Frigidarium. 3 & 4. Tepidarium. 7, 8, 9. Caldarium. 11. Open air space. 12 & 13. Latrines. 14. Natatio frigida. 15. Porter's room where the visitors paid the entrance fees. 16. Apodyterium. 17. Frigidarium. 18. Open courtyard surrounded by porticoes.

[1928] I. O. Kanonidis, *AD* 49 (1994), Chr. B2, 493.
[1929] Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, 30-33, 107-108.
[1930] Gounaris, *Falaraio*, 32-34.

Antioch was given numerous baths in the course of its history by Roman emperors: the baths of Agrippa, Tiberius, Varius in the reign of Caligula, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Septimius Severus (two baths), and Diocletian (five baths), Valens and Hellebichus. From archaeological excavations six baths are known. Bath F, located inside the Justinianic wall to the north, was restored in 538 after destruction by an earthquake, on smaller scale, some parts being left ruined. After a new destruction by fire in 540, it was abandoned.[1931] Bath C was also abandoned after its destruction by earthquakes. The smaller Bath A was also destroyed and only its peristyle court was restored in the late sixth century.[1932]

In the civic centre of Scythopolis there were two baths, to the east and west of Palladius Street. The East Baths underwent changes and fell out of use, having been converted to other functions in the early sixth century. The pagan statues of the frigidarium, considered offensive to the Christians, were removed: some were thrown in a pit, others were found scattered. In contrast, the West Baths of the city (Plan 39), built early in the fifth century, were remodelled and expanded to become one of the largest baths known in Palestine (95x60 m). The water system of the baths was also used for the adjacent public latrines. In the middle of the sixth century alterations were introduced and are characteristic of the trends of the time. In the west portico an apsidal basilica (9x45 m) was built. The apse was covered with a colourful glass mosaic and the hall with a mosaic. But the mosaic floor of the courtyard with a fine geometric design was covered with a pavement of marble flagstones. Later a wall blocked the entrances to the earlier *exedrai* opening to the west side of the basilica. In the middle of the complex, the pool west of the pillared hall was filled in and converted into a peristyle. In the last stage of the baths, four rectangular pools were built at the two east ends of the porticoes. The baths functioned until the end of the sixth to the early seventh century.[1933]

Various late alterations to the baths of Bishop Placcus in Gerasa are marked by a similar process (see supra, p. 329, Plan 35). The entrance to the bath, originally an open portico (B 34), was closed at the two ends, thus forming two rooms (B 37 and B 32). The original pool was subdivided in two units (B 47 and B 43). A latrine was installed in a room next to the entrance (B 35), while in the earlier phase the latrine was located away from the entrance at the extreme end of the complex (B 48). Before the end of the sixth century, six of the eight columns of the atrium of the baths (A 52) were removed and used in the staircase of the cathedral.[1934] The alterations are marked by a reduction in size of the larger rooms, and by a closing up and reduction in the size of earlier open spaces. There is also a noticeable lack of concern to maintain earlier standards of refined life, as can be observed in the establishment of the latrine by the entrance.

In Caesarea the magnificent and large bathhouse, built in the fourth century, fell out of use before the end of the early Byzantine period and was robbed of its materials. Another bath, however, was built at the end of the sixth century or in the early seventh century in the city's affluent northeast suburbs outside the walls (Plan 40). Some of its features, like the large rooms, especially the frigidarium, the courtyard leading to the baths' entrance in front of the frigidarium, and the large outdoor pool next to the tepidarium suggest that its function was public. Its size was approximately 525 m^2. It had all the traditional features of Roman baths: a praefurnium, apodyterium, a small caldarium for only two bathers, tepidarium, unctorium and a frigidarium with a large round pool and a bench. The tepidarium was dec-

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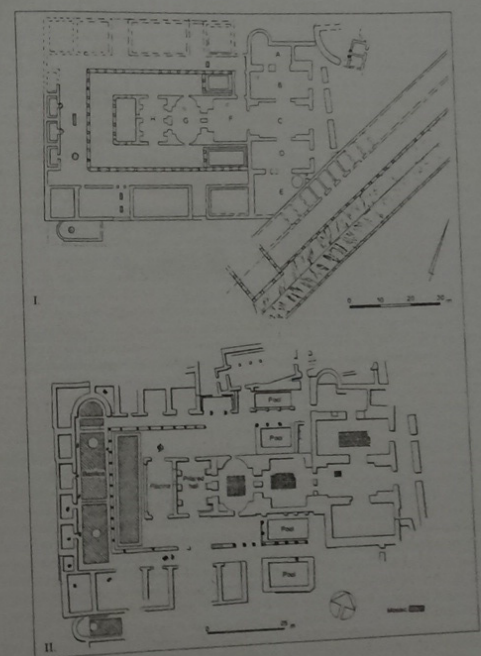
[1931] *Antioch* III, 8-9.

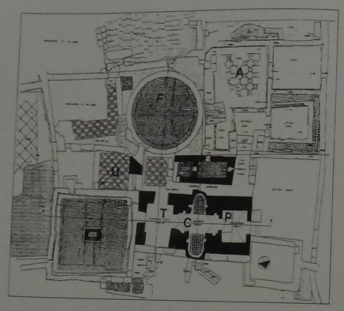
[1932] *Antioch* I, 4-7 (Bath A), 19-31 (Bath C).

[1933] Mazor, *ESI* 6 (1987/88), 10-18; idem, *ESI* 7-8 (1988/89), 22-26; Bar-Nathan and Mazor, *ESI* 11 (1992), 38-42; G. Mazor, Public baths in Roman and Byzantine Nysa-Scythopolis (Bet Shean), in *Roman Baths*, 293-302.

[1934] Fisher, Buildings, 265-269.



PLAN 39. The West Baths at Scythopolis: I. The early phase. II. Plan of the baths with changes that took place in the sixth century.



PLAN 40. Bath in the northeast suburb of Cesarea Maritima (late sixth to early seventh century): A. Apodyterium. C. Caldarium. P. Praefurnium. T. Tepidarium. U. Unctorium. F. Frigidarium.

orated with two frescoes with Christian repertoire in red depicting a Tree of Life and a jewelled cross (see supra, p. 331, Plan 36). It is unusual to find in a late sixth century bath such a large, round pool as that of the frigidarium, surrounded by benches and four rooms, a legacy of Roman baths. This might reflect the attachment of the district's wealthy residents, who had probably sponsored the project, to ancient traditions. Also characteristic is the large pool (53 m²) at the northeastern corner of the complex, which was either ornamental or was used to collect rainwater, or both. There was also a latrine at the western edge of the complex, at a comfortable distance from the main halls of the bath. By the frigidarium at the southeast corner was a small pool perhaps for footbaths.[1935] The bath was carefully built, relatively large for the period, with some of the traditional architectural features of Roman baths. Members of the upper class in this prosperous provincial capital could maintain the ancient bathing tradition for longer.

One of the best-preserved baths in Asia Minor is the Roman bath east of the Lower Agora at Sagalassos. After suffering damage from the earthquake of 518, it was restored, continuing to function on a smaller scale, until it finally collapsed in an earthquake in the middle of the seventh century.[1936] The baths at Pella continued to be used, although some of the rooms were converted to serve other

[1935] Horton, Bath, 177-189
[1936] *Sagalassos* V1, 336-362.

functions and the late alterations are marked by the poor quality of material and work.[1937] The baths of Kōm el-Dikka in Alexandria fell out of use before the Arab invasion.[1938]

Towards the end of the sixth century and during the seventh century, on the sites of most of the abandoned baths the earlier large rooms and peristyles were subdivided to accommodate workshops or dwellings of the poor. At some sites, this last stage of the baths dates to the period of invasions, when peasants from the countryside fleeing the invaders settled in urban baths. At Justiniana Prima, the bath outside the urban fortifications was transformed into a small fortified settlement defended by a wall.[1939] Other baths were destroyed by the invaders. The destruction of the baths near the Octagon in Philipps has been linked with the invaders. In Argos, a luxurious private bath was destroyed by the Avaro-Slavs in the 580s and dwellings were established on the site. Numerous kitchen objects, lamps and glass found in the excavations reveal the nature of occupation.[1940]

The reasons of the decline of the public baths were financial and cultural. The diminishing financial resources of the cities made it increasingly difficult to keep up with the cost of maintenance. The poor maintenance and gradual collapse of the Roman water supply system severely affected the operation of the baths, as it reduced the volume of water available. In some cases, the decline in maintenance of public baths is directly associated with the abandonment of aqueducts. For example, during the reign of Justinian, the aqueduct of Constantinople was broken and the authorities did not repair it, with the result that very little water reached the city and all the baths were closed.[1941] The poor maintenance of the aqueduct at Corinth brought about the decline of the city's baths.[1942] The huge Roman bathhouse in the centre of Gortyn was reduced in size in the early Byzantine period and at the time of Justinian it finally ceased to function, probably because of the destruction of the water system.[1943] In other baths, careless repairs display diminishing competence in engineering. In the suburban baths of Caesarea, built at the end of the sixth or in the early seventh century, poor drainage caused the earlier drains to silt up in the last stage of the baths' life. When some repairs were made, new drains were placed above the floor, instead of beneath it, damaging a small step-pool, which was not removed. The social environment in which the baths now functioned had dramatically deteriorated. Since repairs did not solve the problem of poor drainage, new pipes, like the old ones, silted up after some time.[1944] Furthermore, in periods of invasions, during the military operations, the destruction of aqueducts by the enemy affected the functioning of baths.[1945]

The archaeological record reveals a picture of gradual decline and abandonment of most public baths, which were usually given or were taken over for use as dwellings and workshops. Some examples illustrate the trend. The large Roman bath CG north of the acropolis of Sardis and east of the Byzantine wall was abandoned in the early seventh century when it was flooded.[1946] The central baths in Bostra ceased to function from the end of the fourth century, after which refuse thrown from a neighbouring

[1937] *Pella of the Decapolis* 2, 18.
[1938] W. Kołątaj, *Alexandria* V1, *Imperial Baths at Kom el-Dikka* (Warsaw 1992), 43-56, esp. 51.
[1939] Konda and Popović, *Carčin Grad*, 130-135, 317 ff.
[1940] P. Aupert, Objets de la vie quotidienne à Argos en 585 ap. J.-C., in *Études Argiennes*, *BCH*, Suppl. VI (Paris 1980), 395-457.
[1941] Procopius, *Historia arcana* XXVI.23.
[1942] Lolos, Aqueduct, 297-298.
[1943] De Vita, *Gortina* V, LXI-LXII; M. A. Rizzo, Il settore E: Gli ambienti orientali delle terme, *Gortina* V1, 641-655.
[1944] Horton, Bath, 183-184, 187-188.
[1945] Procopius, *De Bello Gothico* V.19.27.
[1946] J. C. Waldbaum and G. M. A. Hanfmann, The Roman Bath CG: Site, Plan, and Description, and ideas, The Roman Bath CG, Construction and Decoration, in Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *A Survey of Sardis*, 139, 165.

workshop accumulated inside it.[947] Some of the rooms of the Roman baths of Corfu, repaired in the fourth and fifth century, housed pottery and glass workshops and were probably destroyed by earthquakes in 551.[948] The small bath of the Church of Acheiropoietos in Thessalonica was converted into workshops during the Byzantine Dark Ages.[949] In Gortyn, families of peasant artisans settled in the small baths by the Basilica of St. Titus, while a cemetery with forty-six burials appeared in the immediate area.[950] Very few studies focus on late alterations to baths, the nature of the industries established there and the economic situation of the artisans. The finds in the houses built in the luxurious private bath of Argos have been mentioned. A good example of houses and workshops established in baths is found at Anemurium. The encroachment on the large Roman public baths started in the middle of the fourth century. Workshops were installed in the rooms of the baths. In the adjacent palaestra poor houses were built, the finds indicating that the owners were peasants, fishermen, a tailor, a leatherworker and a jeweller. The houses were solid, but of rural type, with beaten earth floors and poorly mortared walls. All the baths of Anemurium, damaged in an earthquake of ca. 580, were abandoned. The small bath in the northern section of Anemurium, built in the second half of the fifth century, was also damaged by the earthquake of 580 and retail shops took over the site.[951] The East Baths of Leptiminus in Tunisia were stripped of their material, tiles and marble and were modified with makeshift walls. Pottery kilns were installed inside as were workshops for metalworking. Butchers also established themselves here and there is evidence of some bone working.[952] In the troubled years of famine or invasion, social changes, combined with economic decline, undoubtedly affected the function of some baths. In 500/3, the *Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite mentions the presence of temporary establishments between the columns of the porticoes of the winter bath at Edessa, erected at the governor's initiative to accommodate peasants who moved from the countryside into the city at the time of the famine.[953] The *Miracles of St. Demetrius* report that during the first Slavic attack against Thessalonica, Slavs who sought refuge inside the city were allowed to settle in baths that were not functioning.[954]

Yet, while in the sixth century very few public baths were built with provincial or municipal funds, or were financed by the emperor, baths were built or restored by the Church and small baths were added to private houses.[955] Although from the last quarter of the same century in most provinces the communities and state officials lacked the interest and the funds to maintain the earlier public baths, private baths were still maintained. Papyri document the materials needed for specific repairs of baths attached to large houses.[956]

To conclude: bathing establishments gradually declined from the fourth century onwards. The large baths of the Roman type were transformed into smaller complexes and most of them were subsequently abandoned. There is a notable preference for smaller baths, more modest in design, materials

[947] J.-M. Doiatier, Fouilles franco-grecques à l'est de l'arc triomphal (1985-1987): une nouvelle cathédrale à Bonn?, *Corvallis* 33 (1988), 34.

[948] *AD* 49 (1994), *Chr.* B1, 413.

[949] E. Marki, *AD* 49 (1994), *Chr.* B2, 374.

[950] De Villa, *Gortina* I, 140-142.

[951] Russell, *Urban Life*, 146-148. *For the houses in the palaestra see supra, pp. 307-308.*

[952] L. Sterling (with contributions by D. Mattingly and N. Ben Lazreg), The East Baths and their industrial re-use in late antiquity. *1992 excavations, in short, Leptiminus (Lamta), Report No. 2. The East Baths; Cemeteries; Kilns; Venus Mosaic, Site Museum, and other Studies* (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2001), 29-75.

[953] Joshua the Stylite, c. 45 (p. 32).

[954] *Miracula S. Demetrii* I, 190 n. 2, 196.

[955] Sodini, L'habitat urbain, 386-387; A. Kourouniti-Raptaki, *AD* 49 (1994), *Chr.* B1, 109-111.

[956] See, for example, *P.Oxy.* VI 915 (*read and tr.*) and 1082 (*read, n.* 572).

and furnishings. Most baths, after falling out of use, were given to private persons to be used as dwellings and workshops. Only in the large cities were some baths maintained, thanks to imperial patronage, the interest of the governors, members of the upper class and the Church. The Christian religion and a genuine change in people's taste had altered the ideology of bathing and brought about radical modifications to the plan of baths, thereby emphasizing privacy and modesty.[957] The appropriation of the institution of bathing by the Church and the interest of the urban élites ensured its continuity into mediaeval Byzantium.

Aqueducts

The elaborate water supply systems that provided urban communities with running water by means of aqueducts was one of the greatest achievements of the Romans and a mark of civilized urban life. Dionysius of Halicarnassus praises aqueducts as one of the most magnificent works of Rome, which show the greatness of the empire (ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐμφαίνεται μέγεθος) on account of their usefulness (διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς κατασκευῆς) and of the magnitude of the expenditure involved (διὰ τὴν ἀναλώσεως πολυτέλειαν).[958] Cisterns and wells could provide urban communities with drinking water, but only running water brought by aqueducts from distant sources into the cities could offer the aesthetically attractive environment of fountains and the advantages of bathing. In the *Antiochikos*, Libanius elaborates on the importance of Antioch's water supply system with rhetorical emphasis: the grace (χάρις) of the water, its purity and clarity, the enjoyment which one derives from bathing, and the greatest pleasure of all, drinking. The description of Antioch's water supply system is remarkably lengthy and comprehends the springs of Daphne and the temple of the Nymphs, the aqueduct and water channels bringing water to all houses and public fountains.[959] The temple of the Nymphs is shown in the Yakto mosaic as a circular building with three steps surrounded by a portico and forming a pool in the middle of which floats a small boat.[960] Malalas mentions the Hadrianic aqueduct of Antioch and the emperor's buildings at the springs of Daphne. Hadrian constructed the so-called Theatre of the Springs of Daphne and the temple of the Springs from which the water was flowing out from five streams. Inside the temple of the Springs was placed a seated statue of Zeus holding the celestial sphere as an expression of gratitude for having completed this tremendous work (τὸ τοιοῦτο φοβερὸν ἔργον). The new Hadrianic aqueduct that brought water into Antioch collected the water of streams flowing into a set of ravines named the Agrial. Another aqueduct provided Daphne with water from some spring in the Agrial, which was also known as Pallas.[961] Full of admiration for the engineering work, Libanius describes Antioch's aqueduct in these words: "... contriving a covered road for the stream through the lower slopes of the mountain, in some places hollowing out the slopes, in others building additions, and in some places carrying the way in the air over bridges, where the cliffs make this necessary, then bring to the town the abundance from the suburbs".[962] Antioch surpassed all other cities in the abundance of its water supply.[963]

[957] Mango, La vita, 244-246 considers the decline of the public baths a consequence of the lack of financial resources and population decline, while for Bergot, *Des Bad*, 34 the Church was the major factor in the decline of the baths from the late sixth century.

[958] Dionysius of Halicarnassus III.67.5.

[959] Libanius, *Or.* XI.240-248.

[960] *Antioch* I, 129-130, fig. 30.

[961] Malalas, 209-210.

[962] *Or.* XI.243 (transl. Downey, p. 678).

[963] *I*, 244: καὶ οὐδὲν ἡ μείωσις κωλύει, κοινοὶ ἀστοῖς, ὅτι κατάρρυτος ἡμῖν ἡ πόλις. Καὶ κρείττων οὐδεὶς κῶλον ὑπουργεῖν τοῖς ἐν δι' ὑδάτων ρυτοῖς πόνοις ἀποστέγοις.

In the early sixth century, writers continued to value aqueducts on the grounds that they ensured prosperity for cities. The construction of an aqueduct in Heliopolis by Anastasius was an honour to the city, wrote Procopius of Gaza (τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν ᾧου δεῖν τιμᾶσθαι τὰ πρέποντα).[1964] To provide the cities with water for drinking and for bathing was considered by Procopius of Caesarea a basic service required in the foundation of a city (οἰκιστὴς ἂν αὐτῆς δικαίως καλοῖτο).[1965] Choricius elaborates on the value of the water supply for the cities when he refers to the competitive spirit of the cities in the construction of water fountains: a municipal officer, the astynomos, invented "a playful as well as advantageous device to make the inhabitants compete with those cities which have pride in waters" (λυσιτελὲς ἅμοῦ καὶ τερπνὸν ἐξεῦρε δημιούργημα καὶ δέδοικε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐρίζειν πρὸς τὰς ἀγαλλομένας ὕδασι πόλεις).[1966] An inscription from Elusa in the Negev records the invention of a hydraulic machine by the *pater* of the city.[1967] In the cities of Palestine, inscriptions show that the leaders of the communities cared for the water supply system until the end of the sixth century.[1968]

Roman cities relied on both aqueducts for their water supply, and on water fountains and cisterns inside urban centres, whilst aqueducts were also used to irrigate gardens and fields around cities through smaller channels. Bostra, for example, had one central water fountain, one aqueduct, restored by Justinian, and two large cisterns (the east cistern had capacity 99,120 m^3 and its size was 14,160 m^2, the south cistern had capacity 1,180/1,200 m^3 and its size was 20,800 m^2). The aqueduct brought water through channels to the gardens around the city.[1969] The aqueduct of Damascus supplied water to the city, to gardens and to fields as far as 40 km.

In the past, the maintenance of water conduits and drains had been a *munus* imposed on corporations or other social groups. Difficulties in financing maintenance of aqueducts and public drains with liturgies had forced the emperors to look to other alternative sources of funding. It was an old Roman tradition that landowners were required to contribute to the maintenance of conduits that passed through their estates.[1970] A law of 330 orders that aqueducts be cleared of accumulated rubbish by the landowners over whose lands aqueducts passed and who were therefore to be exempt from extraordinary burdens. If they neglected their obligation, however, the fisc was to confiscate their land.[1971] Theodosius II relieved the guilds of Alexandria and ordered that 400 solidi be paid from the *dinummi* tax.[1972] According to Marcellinus Comes, the emperor Marcian issued decrees ordering those who become consuls to spend money on repairing the city's aqueduct, rather than disburse it to the people.[1973] In the sixth century, aqueducts were maintained on imperial initiative or through the governors' and bishops' care. In a series of laws Justinian shows great interest in maintaining public amenities in the cities, including aqueducts. Justinianic legislation of 530 mentions, among the civic works entrusted to bishops and leading members of urban communities, water conduits, which are referred to immediately after measures for the provision of food for the cities. Bishops and community leaders are to make sure that the money allocated for such

[1964] Procopius of Gaza, *Panegyricus Anastasii*, c. 18.
[1965] Procopius, *De aedificiis* II.5.11.
[1966] Choricius, *Or.* V.34.
[1967] *SEG* 20 (1964), no. 482: καὶ κοίνων τὴν τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων μεριστῆς ποτῆρι ὁ λαμπρότατος ποτῆρι Ἠλαίων ἐφεῦρεν ἀρετήν.
[1968] Di Segni, Epigraphic documentation, 156; idem, The water supply of Roman and Byzantine Palestine in literary and epigraphical sources, in D. Amit, J. Patrich and Y. Hirschfeld (eds.), *The Aqueducts of Israel* (*JRA* suppl. 46, Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2002), 37-67.
[1969] K. Mukhal, L'approvisionnement hydrique de la ville de Bostra, in *CorsRav* 35 (1988), 171-203.
[1970] Frontinus, *De aquaeductu*, 125.
[1971] *CTh* XV.2.1. See also *supra*, p. 196.
[1972] *CTh* XIV.27.2 (a. 436)=*CJ* XI.29.1. Libanius, *Or.* XLVI.21 (III, 389) mentions obligatory contributions for the maintenance of aqueducts.
[1973] Marcellinus Comes, s.a. 452.1.

projects is spent and that the work is completed. State officers often demanded taxes from the cities for various works, including the cleaning of the water conduits or drains. The bishop and the leading citizens were not to give in to such demands. In order to impede the illegal actions of state agents, the emperor ordered that the financial officer (*logothetes*) responsible for such civic works should be nominated by the emperor.[1974] In the Justinianic Novels, the maintenance of aqueducts was the governors' responsibility among the other public works, harbours, streets, bridges and walls. The funds required derived from special taxes imposed on the population or from municipal revenues. Justinian attempted again to impede illegal exaction of taxes by the state officers on the pretext that they would be used for maintenance of aqueducts and other public amenities with new laws.[1975] In the Novel 128.16 of 545, the maintenance of water conduits is again mentioned immediately after the cities' corn supply. The emperor was concerned that fiscal agents and wealthy citizens were retaining civic funds normally allocated for the corn supply and aqueducts. The perpetrators were to pay a penalty to the city of double the amount they had retained. Justinian was concerned at the consequences that corruption of state officers and wealthy members of urban communities might have for the maintenance of the urban water network. The supervision of the maintenance work by the bishop and the urban leaders, the nomination of the *logothetes* by the emperor, and the penalties with which the perpetrators were threatened were evidently hoped to bring the desired result. However, the laws repeatedly passed on this issue show that the situation was beyond control.

Justinian included several new aqueducts in his building program. They were constructed in Justiniana Prima, Trebizond, Daras, Constantina, in Helenopolis in Bithynia, at Pythia in the same province where there was a spring with healing waters and where he built a palace.[1976] Aqueducts and water conduits were restored in Antioch, Heraclea, Anastasioupolis in Rhodope, in Nicaea in Bithynia, in Ptolemais in Cyrenaica, and in Cyprus.[1977] According to Malalas, Justinian restored the aqueduct of Constantinople, converted the central hall of the Basilica of Illos into a great cistern and restored the aqueduct of Alexandria.[1978]

Inscriptions indicate that private persons rarely contributed to the maintenance of water conduits and cisterns, although they did so in some cases together with the authorities. At Heliopolis (Baalbek), a certain Sosibios paid for the restoration of a water conduit or of a wall to contain the water of a stream, and a fountain with the prayers of bishop Theodotus.[1979] At Bostra the water conduit was renovated through the generosity (ἐκ φιλοτιμίας) of Justinian, at the request (ἐκ παρεμβάσεως) of the bishop and with the care of a banker (*argyropratès*).[1980] In Gortyn three individuals, Georgios, Ioannes and Helladios, are mentioned as having cooperated (συμπραξόντων) over the renovation of a cistern and its floor (5th-6th c.). Georgios is also mentioned in another inscription in connection with some unspecified work regarding the city's water supply system. Unfortunately the wording is vague and the nature of the work is not mentioned.[1981] Julian of Ascalon shows that the maintenance of the drainage system in the cities was an obligation on the owners of the urban properties.[1982] Undoubtedly private interest without the coordinated supervision of the state administration could not have been sufficient to sustain the

[1974] *CJ* I.4.26 (a. 530); X.30.4 (a. 530).
[1975] *Novellae* 17.4, 24.3, 25.4, 26.4 (a. 535), 30.8 (a. 536).
[1976] Procopius, *De aedificiis* IV.1.21; III.7.1; II.3.24-25; II.2.5 ff.; II.5.10-11; V.2.3; V.3.19.
[1977] Ibid. II.10.22; IV.9.14-16; IV.11.13; V.3.1; VI.2.9-11; V.9.36.
[1978] Malalas, 364, 372.
[1979] *IGSyr* VI, no. 2830.
[1980] *IGSyr* XIII, no. 9134. Sodini, L'artisanat, 95 n. 219 suggests the reading ἀργυροπωλείου, rather than ἀργυροπαίου or ἀργυροπωλοῦ (jeweller).
[1981] Bandy, *Inscriptions*, nos. 32, 33.
[1982] Julian of Ascalon, c. 45 (p. 67).

cities' water supply and drainage system. Imperial funding was often available at the bishops' request[1983] and bishops increasingly appear to take responsibility.[1984] Understandably, the cisterns or water conduits built by bishops often served primarily monastic or ecclesiastical complexes and only sometimes communities at large.[1985] As we move into the early seventh century, the bishops' involvement in the maintenance of aqueducts becomes more visible: the construction of the aqueduct of Salamis (Constantia) in Cyprus lasted more than ten years and it is recorded in seven dedicatory inscriptions (and one now illegible) of the early seventh century. Inscriptions state that archbishops Plutarch (619-625) and Arcadius (628) were in charge of the project. The emperor Heraclius only completed the last part of the work, consisting of the seven arches from the hippodrome with imperial funds in 631.[1986] During the reign of Heraclius, the bishop of the city of Germia in Galatia constructed a large cistern in the city.[1987] In some cases, the wording of inscriptions referring to bishops' repairs or construction of water conduits misleadingly inflates the nature of the work. Thus what has been taken as the construction of an aqueduct by the bishop of Zenopolis in Isauria was probably a fountain decorating the atrium of a church.[1988]

Water conduits and cisterns required frequent care because debris accumulated over the years, reducing the flow of water. Cleaning of public cisterns is recorded in inscriptions.[1989] Choricius describes the decline of Caesarea's aqueduct that caused water shortages. The ὑφηνιοχία of the administration led to the neglect of the drains and caused the waters to flow sluggishly. Some springs consequently fell out of service, frustrating the large numbers of citizens attempting to get water from the remaining functioning fountains. In 526, the governor of Caesarea Stephanus sponsored the works needed to repair the aqueduct.[1990]

Archaeological excavations and literary sources reveal that urban communities had difficulties in keeping up the maintenance and restoration work of aqueducts. Evidence of the survival of Roman aqueducts into the Middle Ages is rare. One exception is at Antioch, the aqueduct of which appears to have been maintained in later centuries.[1991] We can see the decline of the water supply system in Gortyn. The Roman network of water pipes, which provided all the districts of the city with water, was severely damaged by earthquakes. The water was then brought into the city from cisterns built near the hills to the north, employing water pipes, which from the fifth century gradually diminished in number as well as in the quality of materials used. The new pipes were made from small amphorae whose lower parts were broken off and then inserted into each other. From the fifth to the seventh centuries, the earlier water supply system was gradually replaced by public water fountains. During the reign of Justinian,

[1983] *IGBulg* XIII, no. 9134 (Boutra); V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (Berlin 1964), no. 3 (p. 5; a. 580) (Sexdilia).

[1984] *MAMA* III, no. 1966 (Olba in Isauria; a. 566-567). In Abila of the Decapolis in Phoenice Libanensis the building of the upper Umm el Amad aqueduct was sponsored by the Church and completed in 568/9; *AIA* 96 (1992), 537-538. The three underground aqueducts of the early Byzantine period are large with periodic engineering. In one an inscription records that the tunnel was cleaned out at the time of the bishop in 566.

[1985] John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* II.43 (pp. 157-158); J. Kabiniska, L'évêque Firminianos de Zénonopolis et son aqueduc, *Les Études classiques* 62 (1994), 169-175; H. Delehaye, L'aqueduc de S. Socrate à Zénonopolis, *AnBoll* 30 (1911), 516-520; L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, 579 n. 7; Feissel, L'évêque, 824 n. 104.

[1986] J. P. Sodini, Les inscriptions de l'aqueduc de Kythrea à Salamine de Chypre, in *Eupsychia* II, 619-638.

[1987] *Vita S. Theodori Syceotae*, c. 16) 5-7 (p. 138).

[1988] See supra, n. 1985.

[1989] For example, H. C. Youtie, Ostraca from Sheitah, *AJA* 40 (1936), 452-459.

[1990] Choricius, *Or.* III.44-49 (pp. 60-62); Ph. Mayerson, Choricius of Gaza on the Watersupply System of Caesarea, *IEJ* 36 (1986), 269-272.

[1991] Kennedy, Antioch, 194-195.

probably after 541/2, a new system of arches was constructed to carry water into the city. This was a large project, and in the early seventh century one line that was still maintained supplied water to the city's main church and baptistery. Later, around 670 there were about forty fountains and two great nymphaea.[1992] The water supply system of Stobi was destroyed during the invasion of the Goths or by earthquakes in the sixth century. The baths consequently ceased to function, with the exception of the baptistery of the Episcopal Basilica, which functioned with lead pipes well into the sixth century.[1993] Corinth had plenty of natural springs, for which the city was renowned in antiquity and which satisfied all civic needs except those of the baths for the function of which large amounts of water were carried into the city by means of the city's Hadrianic aqueduct. The poor quality of the construction of the aqueduct and the declining interest and financial means of the community caused it to fall out of use already in the fifth century.[1994] The Roman city of Sagalassos in Pisidia had natural springs in the city itself and six aqueducts that brought water into the city from distant springs. During the fourth and the fifth century the water system began to decline. Water reservoirs were subsequently built at various locations in the city. One, probably fed by melted snow, was located by the Northwest Heroon, whence water was brought to the city centre. The water of the Antonine Nymphaeum in the Upper Agora was collected and brought to other locations. It is possible that earthquakes, in particular the earthquake of 518, had weakened Sagalassos' water network. In the sixth century there was an effort to collect water where it still flowed. For example, in the abandoned bouleuterion rainwater was collected with terra-cotta pipes into a structure on the western seats. The water of the Hellenistic Doric fountain was distributed to the city by means of three pipelines, an indication that the water supply of the city had been reduced. The earthquake in the middle of the seventh century destroyed the water network of Sagalassos and the site was abandoned.[1995] At Gadara in Palaestina Secunda in Jordan there are two water tunnels that cross the limestone hill. The second tunnel was not completed and the project was abandoned in the third century. Both tunnels run parallel following the contour of the hill, their length being 23 km. As occurred at many other sites, tunnel A was silted up in the sixth century.[1996]

With the decline of aqueducts, the communities come to rely more on cisterns and wells, which multiply in this period. Cisterns had always been an important part of the water supply system of many Roman cities in provinces where the water was limited. In some settlements private buildings included a cistern, whilst peristyle courtyards had an underground cistern. In most cities, aqueducts were used to bring water mainly to public monuments, but there were larger urban centres in which aqueducts supplied houses directly. Some cities combined public aqueducts with public and private cisterns.[1997] Justinian built a large underground cistern in the Imperial Portico, because the water coming to the city in the summer was insufficient.[1998] According to the *Buildings* of Procopius, the emperor constructed cisterns at Daras, Sisauranon, a fortified town (*polisma*) in Mesopotamia near Daras, Hemerium near the Euphrates, Antioch, Thermopylae, and at Athyras near Rhegium. He also dug a fountain in the fort of Baras on the East frontier, and wells and cisterns in monasteries in Jerusalem.[1999] In the southwest

[1992] A. di Vita, Gortina, Atti della Scuola, *ASAtene* 62 (1964), 1988, 221-240.

[1993] Hattersley-Smith, *Public Architecture*, 63.

[1994] Lolos, Aqueduct, 271-314, esp. 297-299.

[1995] F. Martens, Urban Water Management at Sagalassos. Studying Urban Development from an Hydrological Perspective, in Dentzou, *The Greek City*, 49-86, esp. 68-71.

[1996] S. Kerner et al., Water Management in Northern Jordan: The Example of Gadara Umm Qays, in *Jordan* VI, 265-270.

[1997] C. Mango, The water supply of Constantinople, in C. Mango and G. Dagron (eds.), *Constantinople and its Hinterland. Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993* (Aldershot 1995), 9-18; H. Schwartz, Patterns of Public and Private Water Supply in North Africa, in Humphrey, *Excavations at Carthage 1977*, 50-54.

[1998] Procopius, *De aedificiis* I.11.10-15; Malalas, 364 and cisterns by the imperial palace: 400-401.

[1999] Procopius, *De aedificiis* II.2.1, 4.13, 9.10, 10.14; IV.2.6; V.9.14-22; II.4.22-24.

section of Sergiopolis (Rusafa), a large cistern appeared in the middle of the sixth century and smaller ones date to the early seventh century.[2000] In Pella in the late sixth or early in the seventh century, a huge reservoir was built with a capacity of 300,000 litres north of the West Church. Other, smaller cisterns were built, suggesting that the public aqueduct was declining. In Petra the earthquake of 363 damaged the network of the water supply system and the repairs made were of poor quality. Furthermore, the dam of the torrent Siq suffered damage and, as a result, the civic centre was no longer protected from the accumulation of material deposited there by the water. As a consequence of the deterioration of the water system, the citizens constructed more cisterns in their houses to collect rainwater.[2001] At Anemurium the aqueduct was probably destroyed in the earthquake of 580 and was left unrepaired. The city's inhabitants thereafter dug wells for their water supply.[2002] In general the impression given by the archaeological reports is that towards the end of the early Byzantine period aqueducts were neglected and cities increasingly relied on cisterns and wells for their water supply.

The impact of the reduction in running water delivered by aqueducts on the decline of the urban population is disputed. Certainly, as Ward-Perkins pointed out, large cities existed before the introduction of Roman aqueducts.[2003] On the other hand, archaeological evidence and literary sources indicate that the neglect of aqueducts seriously affected several urban centres, since some Roman cities developed in sites that depended on water brought through aqueducts from a distance. The deterioration of the aqueduct of Sardis and its replacement by wells may have been the reason for the abandonment of the houses on the acropolis slopes.[2004] By contrast, the aqueduct built by Justinian beside the Church of St. John in Ephesus created the incentive for the development of a settlement on the site that later became the centre of medieval Ephesus.[2005] Procopius observed that urban communities, such as Heraclea and Ptolemais, which had not been able to maintain their water supply network, suffered depopulation. He elaborates on the causes of the destruction of Heraclea's aqueduct: ". . . time, following its custom, had destroyed the city's aqueduct, since it either failed to notice that its masonry had become enfeebled by age, or else was leading the people of Heraclea to their own destruction (ἐπὶ τὴν φθορὰν) through their neglect of it (τῷ μὴ ἐκμελεῖσθαι)". As a result, Heraclea became almost depopulated (ὀλίγου τε δεῖσαι διὰ τοῦτο Ἡρακλεῶται ἐλέλειπτο οἶναι). Ptolemais was also depopulated because its inhabitants, suffering from thirst, had left the city long ago (τῶν γὰρ οἰκητόρων ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος διψῶν ἐχόμενοι πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐνθένδε ἐξανιστάντες ἀπεχώρουν ὅστε ἐκείσε δυνατὰ γέγονεν). Justinian brought back prosperity to the city by restoring its aqueduct.[2006] In the *Secret History*, Procopius points to the emperor as responsible for the neglect of Constantinople's aqueduct. When the capital's aqueduct was damaged, it was not repaired nor was there any willingness to spend money on its repair (ὑπερεώων τε καὶ οὐδ' ὅπωσοῦν αὐτῷ προέσθαι ἤθελον), with the result that very little water reached the city. The inhabitants suffered the inconvenience of getting water from public water fountains and were deprived of public baths, all of which were closed. Procopius criticizes the emperor for spending money on buildings overseas and new palaces in the suburbs of Constantinople, while at the same time neglecting its aqueducts.[2007]

[2000] W. Brünkée, Zur Wasserversorgung von Resafa-Sergiopolis, *DaM* 5 (1991), 119-146.

[2001] Fiema, Late-antique Petra, 221.

[2002] Russell, Urban Life, 147-148.

[2003] Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 121-122.

[2004] C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., M. L. Rautman and N. D. Cahill, The Sardis Campaign of 1985, in W. E. Rast (ed.), *Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1982-85* (BASOR Suppl. 25, Baltimore, MD 1988), 55-92, esp. 57, 60-61 and n. 4.

[2005] Foss, *Ephesus*, 92 and n. 96.

[2006] Procopius, *De aedificiis* IV.9.14; VI.2.10.

[2007] *Historia arcana* XXVI.23-24. For Sallou, *Les Lois*, 119-120, absence of political will or a choice on the part of the governing class, rather than financial restrictions, were the reasons of the abandonment of aqueducts.

During enemy invasions and sieges, aqueducts were cut off by the enemies in order to exercise pressure on the urban population. Urban inhabitants consequently turned to cisterns and wells for their water supply. Thus, when Belisarius cut off the aqueduct of Naples during the siege of 535, this had no consequences for the besieged, because they had sufficient supply of water from the wells. In Rome, the Goths destroyed the fourteen aqueducts to deprive the inhabitants of drinking water, but they too relied on wells. The baths, however, were totally closed, whilst Belisarius constructed a huge cistern at his residence (536/7).[2008] According to the *Pragmatic Sanction* 25, the Byzantines took care to repair the aqueducts in Rome, but springs, cisterns and wells dug to get water from Roman drains were more reliable sources of water.[2009] In Thessalonica, the cryptoporticus connecting the upper with the lower parts of the agora was transformed into a cistern in the first half of the sixth century, as well as the south portico of the lower part of the agora. These changes were probably introduced as a response to the invasions.[2010]

The diminishing resources of the cities, the neglect of the authorities and enemy invasions caused the decline of the cities' water supply system. During Procopius' time, ancient Roman aqueducts attracted visitors' admiration (ὀψιτὸν ἀξιοθεάτου ὄντα), a statement that indicates how long ago such buildings had been erected. Procopius did not conceal his admiration for Rome's fourteen aqueducts inside which a horseman could ride, while one of Belisarius' soldiers was curious to observe how Naples' aqueduct was constructed and how it brought water into the city.[2011]

Concluding thoughts: cultural changes in their historical context

The image of the sixth-century Byzantine city is that of a public space shrinking before the pressure of private interests. Urban public space that in the past gave expression to the city ideology of the Hellenistic and Roman periods was dissolved and given to private owners. Wealthy persons who requested ownership of vacant civic lots and buildings initiated the process of the privatization of public land. Initially this was done under the auspices of the state and municipal authorities who extracted rent from such transactions for the benefit of the imperial treasury or in order to address state and civic needs. It was inevitable that powerful individuals should exercise their influence on the state administration to acquire public property cheaply, although the process was counter to the public interest. General population increase, movement of population from the countryside into the cities, sedentarization of nomads in new urban districts in some provinces and the prosperity of the artisan class all created demand for more commercial and residential space. Administrative changes and the demise of paganism created available lots and buildings and offered opportunities for their appropriation. Cultural shifts shaped attitudes in which the dissolution of the public space was possible.

Christianity dissociated itself from ancient civic space. It resisted any attempt to Christianize civic institutions: its aim was to replace those institutions so deeply embedded in paganism. Together with the institutions went the buildings that housed them. The Church created new centres in cities and new districts around parochial churches. While public civic space was allowed to decay, the areas around

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[2008] Procopius, *De Bello Gothico* V.8.45; V.19.13, 28; VIII.12.21-27; *De Bello Vandalico* IV.1.2; H. Broise et al., Rome: Pincio (Jardins de Lucullus), *MEFRA* 112/1 (2000), 449.

[2009] *CJC*, app. II, VII; R. Coates-Stephens, The Water-supply of Early Medieval Rome, in C. Bruun and A. Saastamoinen (eds.), *Technology, Ideology, Water: From Frontinus to the Renaissance and Beyond. Papers from a conference at the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, May 19-20, 2000* (Rome 2003), 81-113.

[2010] See supra, pp. 242-243.

[2011] Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico* IV.1.2; *De Bello Gothico* V.19.13; V.9.11.

churches, sidewalks, and porticoes were taken care of, the best available materials, often removed from public buildings and porticoes, were used in construction and repairs, and every effort was made to upgrade the sites and beautify the surroundings of the churches. Archaeology reveals that in many cases community funds were directed towards constructing new churches or renovating old ones, while urban features serving practical needs, such as streets and porticoes, bridges and water supply systems, were increasingly neglected and left to decay. We have shown how Christian ideology presented a set of religious and moral accusations against ancient urban life in civic centres and attacked urban activities that were connected with public civic space and paganism. There was a coordinated effort to Christianize the ancient city, which involved rhetorical accusations against ancient forms of civic life,[2012] and the promotion of Christian ideology and modes of social behaviour. The texts I have cited above anticipate a partial answer to the problem of the change in urban public space.[2013] Christianity called for a revaluation of all values and traditions. New architectural forms and new aesthetic tastes consequently emerged in the cityscape. New needs were created and they were to be satisfied in the churches. Expressions of public life intended by extravagance in urban architecture and grandiose civic projects were condemned. The tendency created by Christian ideology was the antithesis of the ideals of the ancient pagan cities. The Church valued humility, chastity, modesty and sanctity, a reversal of pagan urban values. The impression made by Christian preaching on people's attitudes toward the concept and function of urban space must have been considerable. After the fourth century there were increasingly fewer pagan intellectuals who could defend the model of the ancient city. The world was changing radically in terms of religion, ideological orientation, artistic perceptions, and social values, all of which dramatically affected the physical environment of the cities. Later in the eleventh century, in the collection of judicial decisions by the Byzantine judge Eustathios Rhomaios, the end of private munificence for the construction of buildings for public spectacles and baths and the organization of spectacles for the people's enjoyment is explained as a consequence of the new religion. Christianity made its priority the salvation of the soul over the pleasures of the body.[2014]

Hellenistic and Roman principles of urbanism were abandoned. Orthogonal city planning, the large avenues, porticoes and sidewalks that were symbols of urban prosperity and Roman imperial power were slowly replaced by irregular planning, narrower streets, closed porticoes and the building up of earlier open public places. The disciplined order of urban public space expressed through architecture the prestige of the city and of the Roman state. In the words of W. MacDonald,

> The cardinal themes of this empire imagery focused on the scenic unification of spaces and elevations. Highly mnemonic because they alluded to familiar compositions of the past – colonnades, temple fronts, recessed volumes, and the like – they recapitulated these older images in inventively articulated designs . . . Strolling down the Embolos at Ephesus, for example, from the civic buildings above to the huge agora below and then along the Arkadianē boulevard to the harbour, the architecture of imperial imagery would have been seen again and again just as in Rome – in fountains, temples, baths, memorials, a library, archways, peristyles, and column displays.[2015]

[2012] I. Sandwell, Christian Self-Definition in the Fourth Century A.D., in I. Sandwell and J. Huskinson, *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch. Papers from a colloquium, London, 15th December 2001* (Oxford 2004), 45-50.

[2013] Sarah-Mendelsohn, Demise, 376-394. On the impact of Christianity on people's culture see Haldon, *Byzantium*, 324 ff.

[2014] *Peira* 47.1.

[2015] MacDonald, *Architecture* II, 219, 219-220. See also Alston, *The City*, 329.

With the collapse of the Roman administrative system, and the gradual dissociation of the upper class from the ideals of ancient culture, the administration's control over city planning was relaxed. The imagery of the empire and imperial symbolism were abandoned when ancient culture declined. The links with the past were cut and the sense of continuity in urban architecture was broken. The organizational patterns of the ancient world had to be replaced. It has often been stated that the adoption of new concepts of urbanism actually constituted a return to pre-Roman local traditions. This may hold some truth for the provinces with an ethnically and culturally diverse population. However, the dissolution of civic public space is a general phenomenon, found also in cities of Asia Minor and in Greece. It is obvious, therefore, that the new concepts of urbanism were primarily dictated by the people's practical needs and their private interest, when the Greco-Roman model of administration ceased to control the cities and the culture of the élites changed under the influence of Christianity.

The cities gradually lost their ancient monumental appearance, their orderly planning and their impressive monuments, most of which were treasures of art and symbols of the vanishing ancient culture. The magnificent ancient buildings of the administration were left to decay, dilapidate, or were taken over by private persons and converted to other uses. The buildings for spectacles were also in decline and by the end of the early Byzantine period were abandoned, whilst inside or around them poor dwellings and artisans' installations were established. Only the hippodrome of Constantinople survived and this was possible, because spectacles had been incorporated into imperial ceremonies. Aqueducts, no longer maintained, were replaced by cisterns and wells. Only the aqueduct of the capital, Constantinople, survived into the Middle Ages, but its function was interrupted during the Byzantine Dark Ages.[2016] The decline of aqueducts and the reduction in funds available seriously affected the function of the large public baths. Christian ideology also played a major role in the abandonment of public baths in favour of small private ones and in the modelling of a new culture of the institution of bathing in accordance with Christian values. Bathing survived in the Middle Ages, for it had been accepted by the Church and the upper class.

These changes suggest decline.[2017] The decline in public space obviously does not imply a decline of the city itself, nor of the urban socio-economic life, nor a reduction in population.[2018] Sauvaget rightly contrasted the dissolution of urban planning with the population increase and expansion of the urban inhabited area during the early Byzantine period.[2019] While he regarded the neglect of the urban authorities in maintaining the ancient urban planning as a symptom of decline, he realised the difficulties involved in this interpretation, given the population increase at exactly the same period. Other indications, however, point to a gradual material decline in the early Byzantine period: the deterioration in the quality of the constructions and repairs, so characteristic of the early Byzantine structures is manifested everywhere.[2020] Engineering work applied to large-scale projects inherited from Rome gradually deteriorated. Roman ports, for example, deteriorated and were abandoned. After the end of the early Byzantine period, the shipping of merchandise reverted to pre-Roman practices: in the absence of artificial harbours, since large ships could not reach the coast, cargo was transported from the ship to the coast by means of small boats. While it would appear obvious that this was a consequence of the inability of the state to maintain the Roman level of engineering, it has been suggested that ideological reasons caused this change. The

[2016] Mango, *Le développement*, 56-57.

[2017] Tsafrir and Foerster, Urbanism, 141. "We can call 'decline' or 'deterioration' the period in which the streets were narrowed to lanes, public squares were invaded by encroachment of private buildings".

[2018] Liebeschuetz, *Decline*, 29-30: the building up of public space has been "interpreted as a symptom of urban decline and demoralization, but in fact it may often represent simply a more 'laissez faire' attitude to the development of cities".

[2019] Sauvaget, *Alep*, 67.

[2020] See infra, pp. 446-448.

early Byzantines preferred natural arrangements to the artificial monumentality of their Roman predecessors.[2021] The decline of civic financial resources, of competitive private patronage and the weakened state were of course major factors. The exception to this pattern of decline was churches, where the resources of urban communities were directed collectively and at the level of private patronage. Cultural transformation and the crisis in the upper class were the other causes of the decline of the civilization of the *polis*, as we know it from the Roman period. The obvious signs of deterioration in material culture mark the end of the early Byzantine period as an introduction to the Middle Ages.

[2021] S. A. Kingsley, 'Decline' in the ports of Palestine in late antiquity, in Lavan, *Recent Research*, 69-87; J.-Y. Empereur, *BCH* 109 (1985), 989: the port of Amanthous in Cyprus was reduced. On the technology used see R. L. Hohlfelder, Building Harbours in the Early Byzantine Era: The Persistence of Roman Technology, *ByzF* 24 (1997), 367-378. In Constantinople in the Dark Ages the harbour of Theodosius was abandoned and silted and the overall capacity of the ports of the capital for commercial activities was reduced to about one fourth: Mango, *Le développement*, 55-56.

PART V

BETWEEN THE CITY OF THE PAST AND THE CITY OF THE FUTURE

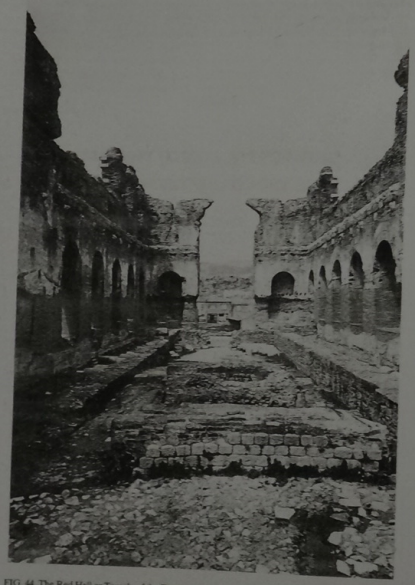

FIG. 44. The Red Hall or Temple of the Egyptian Gods in the lower city of Pergamon, later converted into a church dedicated to St. John. It was located next to the Roman forum crossed by the Holy Street leading to the famous Asclepieion to the West. The walls of the Red Hall stand up to about 20 m high (see H. Koester (ed.), *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description and Religious Development*, Harrisburg 1998, 77-110, esp. 96-103).

CHAPTER 12

AT THE EDGE OF ANTIQUITY: PAGAN MONUMENTS IN THE CHRISTIAN CITY

ἐν ἑκάστῃ (πόλει) δὲ μετὰ τὸ τείχος ἄγρα τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἱερὰ καὶ νεώ.[302]

Early Byzantine cities developed in an environment replete with ancient monuments displaying sculptural and painted decoration that derived from pagan myths and heroes. The pagan past was present everywhere in the urban landscape. It dominated civic buildings, civil basilicas, theatres, baths, gymnasia, street porticoes and fountains.[303] Above all, temples and statues remained the symbols of the ancient religion. In the years of dramatic confrontation of the Christian religion with paganism, new urban space was gradually developed in opposition to the pagan past. Urban topography was reshaped to convey a new Christian ideology. The pagan monuments were taken apart. Some were ruined and abandoned, others were reutilized in new Christian complexes, yet behind the magnificent façade of others lurked poor houses and workshops. The opposition of the Church to ancient spatial organization and urban culture has been emphasized in our previous chapters above. In this chapter, we focus on the remnants of the pagan monuments so broadly dispersed in the cities, the new symbols and new aesthetics created, and what they meant to the sixth-century Christians.

Pagan temples

Early Byzantine cities inherited an enormous number of pagan temples, most of which were probably private sanctuaries. In the Syriac *Notitia Urbis Alexandrinae*, which derives from a Greek original of the fourth century, about 2,478 temples are mentioned in the city of Alexandria: in quarters A to E, 308, 110, 855, 800, and 405 temples are recorded respectively.[304] The temples were the cities' landmarks, conveying a powerful symbolism and linking citizens to a heroic past, ancient myths and religious festivals. Libanius praises the temples in connection with the cities: "... the temples give fame to the cities, they are the cities' pride, they have to be maintained ... be zealous of their maintenance as part of the

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302 Libanius, *Or.* XXX, c. 4 (III, 89.16-17).

303 Chorician, XXIX (*Declamatio* 6), 53 (p. 323.18-20): *εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς αἰνιγμάτων ἀγορὰς ἔφηγον τὰ ἀνάλωμα ἢ λουτρῶν ἢ στοᾶς ἢ σκυτῆς ἢ ναυπηγίας, οὐκ πολλὰ κέκρηνα πόλεσι.*

304 P. M. Fraser, Syriac Notitia Urbis Alexandrinae, *JEA* 37 (1951), 104.

fabric of the cities" (ἐν τῷ σώματι τῶν πόλεων). In vain did the pagan orator try to save them from destruction by the Christians by suggesting that they be used merely as buildings (πάντως δὲ εἶναν οἰκοδομήματα), even when they were not used as temples. The temples in the countryside, destroyed by monks, were the "soul of the countryside", for they marked the beginning of settlements.[2025] There is substantial evidence that in many cities temples were neglected from the third and fourth century on, many because of declining funds.[2026] From the fourth century, temple property was confiscated by the fisc. The emperors occasionally gave part of the confiscated properties to the Church, or the Church herself directly appropriated temple property. Sozomenus, when referring to the closing of temples by the Christian emperors, states that pagan temples were transferred to churches that needed either the sites or the materials of the temples.[2027] Until the end of the early Byzantine period, temples, if they had not been transferred to private individuals or to the Church, were regarded as state property; during the reign of Phocas, Pope Boniface IV asked the emperor for the property title to the Pantheon of Rome.[2028]

The anti-pagan measures of Theodosius were decisive in suppressing paganism. The temples were ordered to close and pagan cults forbidden, whilst bishops and monks often attacked and destroyed temples. In the fifth century, sources recognize that even the gods to which temples were dedicated had long been forgotten.[2029] In the sources of the sixth-century, temples are mentioned as having been abandoned or destroyed long ago.[2030] Severus emphatically states that by then the pagan oracular centres, such as those at Dodone, Delphi, Olympia, Nemea, Epidaurus, Isthmus, Daphne and Heliopolis (Baalbek), were silent and closed. Temples had been destroyed to their foundations and their idols overturned.[2031] By the time of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Sophronius, the site of the temple of Senouth in Menouthis in Egypt had been covered by sand from the sea, the cult having long ago been completely forgotten, whilst the *proastea* and numerous bathing installations flanking the street leading to the famous temple at Canopus had been entirely destroyed.[2032] The sites of ancient temples, if they had not been sanctified by the erection of churches, were places to be avoided. In other cases, they were regarded as unclean and so could be assigned sordid new functions. For example, on the outskirts of Alexandria criminals were executed by the demolished temple of Cronos.[2033] After the destruction of the Serapeum, the Tycheion, the most prominent temple in Alexandria's agora, dedicated to the Tyche of the city, was transformed into a wine shop.[2034]

Although in the sixth century, the pagan temples were deserted and stripped of cult statues and their treasures, the memory of the days when they still functioned and symbolized ancient culture is preserved in the literary works of the period. Such references, however, are no longer marked by fear

[2025] Libanius, *Or.* XXX.42, 9 (III, 110.16; 92.13-15).

[2026] See, for example, Corinth: Rothaus, *Corinth*, 52-63. The temples were already neglected in the third and fourth centuries when they were damaged by earthquakes. At the end of the fourth century and in the fifth most of them were razed to the ground by Christians and their stones were used as other constructions.

[2027] Sozomenus, *HE* III.17.3: Ναοὺς δὲ τοὺς πανταχῇ κειμένους ἐν πόλεσι καὶ ἀγροῖς κελεύσθησι κρατεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἐκκλησίαις προσθεῖναι ἢ τόποις ἢ ὕλαις προσθεωνεῖν, II.5.4: Ναὸν δὲ οἱ μὲν θυρῶν, οἱ δὲ ὀρόφων ἐγυμνώθησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀμελούμενοι ἠφανίσντο τε καὶ διεφθείροντο.

[2028] *Le Liber Pontificalis*, L. Duchesne, 1 (Paris 1955), 317.

[2029] *V. Procli*, c. 32 (pp. 88-89).

[2030] References to abandoned temples are found already in the fourth century, as for example, John Chrysostom, *PG* 50, 544; Jerome, *Ep.* 107.1: the temples of Rome were covered with soot and cobwebs and the people passed the ruined temples to visit the tombs of the martyrs. On the process of Christianization in the early Byzantine period see Trombley, *Hellenic Religion*.

[2031] Severus, *Hom.* 50, *PO* 35 (1969), 363, 365; *Hom.* 96, *PO* 23 (1932), 44, 48; *Hom.* 27, *PO* 36/4 (1974), 565.

[2032] Sophronius, *Laudes in SS. Cyrum et Johannem*, *PG* 87/3, 3416B-C; *Vita SS. Cyri et Iohannis*, *PG* 87/3, 3688C-D, 3699C.

[2033] Moschus, 2925A.

[2034] *Anthologia Graeca* IX.183.3-4.

of any threat from paganism. Procopius, for example, states that in the forum of Rome, the temple of Janus in front of the Senate, which the Romans opened only during times of war, had remained closed since the city's conversion to Christianity. In 537, during the siege of Rome by the Goths, the Romans attempted to open its doors secretly, but, symbolically enough, the doors would not open fully. Some of the patricians in despair brought out the Sibylline oracles. However, they failed to interpret them correctly because, as Procopius explains, the oracles, since they were not recorded in order, were to be understood only after the events had occurred.[2035] Paganism belonged to the past.

The sixth century marks the end of pagan antiquity. The last remnants of paganism were eradicated by Justinianic measures. Justinian began the persecutions of the pagans immediately upon his ascent to the throne, in 528/9 and they were repeated in 545/6 and in 562. In large cities, the remaining pagans were members of the upper class. They held high offices in the state administration and Justinianic measures were directed at them. Procopius considered that the religious persecutions of the aristocrats and the confiscations of their properties satisfied the emperor's greed.[2036] Justinian, engaged in a struggle with the established aristocracy,[2037] was willing to lift his measures against them, if they adopted Orthodoxy.[2038] The closing of the Academy at Athens by Justinian was a final blow to the intellectual power of paganism, while at other sites temples were dismantled and conversion achieved by force.[2039] Traces of paganism are mentioned in the countryside of Asia Minor. John of Ephesus was sent on a missionary expedition to the provinces of Caria, Phrygia and Lydia to convert the remaining pagans in the countryside. He destroyed temples and erected ninety-nine new churches and twelve monasteries.[2040] Pagans were also converted in Pentapolis in North Africa during the rule of Justinian, and their presence is attested in Palestine. The temple of Pan in Banias (Caesarea Philippi) in Israel was probably destroyed in the late sixth or early seventh century and pieces of cult statues, statuettes and votive offerings removed and gathered in a room near the temple.[2041] In Egypt, the Blemyes were still pagans and Narses, acting on the orders of the emperor, dismantled their temples, placed the priests in confinement and transported the statues to Constantinople.[2042] The two pagan cities Augila in Libya with shrines dedicated to Ammon and to Alexander, were also Christianized by Justinian. Persecutions continued in the reign of Tiberius when pagans were discovered in Heliopolis and Antioch, most of whom were high-ranking officials. Since similar accusations were brought against some ecclesiastics, the objectiveness of these accusations may be questionable. Some isolated cases are also mentioned at the time of Maurice.[2043] A small pagan

[2035] Procopius, *De Bello Gothico* V.24.28-37.

[2036] *CJ* I.5.12.4 ff.; I.10.2; I.11.9 and 10. See also Chuvin, *Chronique*, 135-152; Malalas, 377.42 (a. 529), 424.136 (a. 559); Procopius, *Historia arcana* XI.31-33.

[2037] Ibid., XI.31; J. Irmscher, Heidnische Kontinuität im justinianischen Staat, *Byz. Congress XVII (1986)*, 17-30.

[2038] Theophanes, I, 180 (a.m. 6022).

[2039] On the closing of the Academy see *supra*, p. 80 & n. 412. D. J. Constantelos, Paganism and the State in the Age of Justinian, *The Catholic Historical Review* 50 (1964/5), 372-380; J. Irmscher, Paganismus im Justinianischen Reich, *Klio* 63 (1981), 683-688.

[2040] John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* II.44 (pp. 159-160); III.36 (pp. 230-232). M. Whitby, John of Ephesus and the Pagans: Pagan Survivals in the Sixth Century, in M. Salamon (ed.), *Paganism in the Later Roman Empire and in Byzantium* (Cracow 1991), 111-131; K. W. Harl, Sacrifice and Pagan Belief in Fifth and Sixth Century Byzantium, *Past and Present* 128 (1990), 7-27; F. R. Trombley, Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity: The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece, *HThR* 78 (1985), 327-352; idem, *Hellenic Religion*.

[2041] Z. Ma'oz, Banias, Temple of Pan –1991/1992, *ESI* 13 (1993), 3, 6; idem, Banias, Temple of Pan – 1993, *ESI* 15 (1996), 3.

[2042] Procopius, *De aedificiis* VI.2.15-20; *Historia arcana* XI.26; *De Bello Persico* I.19.35-37.

[2043] I. Rochow, Die Heidenprozesse unter den Kaisern Tiberios II. Konstantinos und Maurikios, in H. Köpstein and F. Winkelmann (eds.), *Studien zum 7. Jahrhundert in Byzanz* (Berlin 1976), 120-130. Pagans in Antioch are mentioned also in the *Vita S. Symeonis Stylitae Iun.*, c. 78.16, 125.48, 141.5, 143.2, 158, 160-164, 184; John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.27-34

community still existed near Lake Mareotis by Alexandria until the time of John the Almsgiver.[2044] Thus in the sixth century, there were some pockets of paganism surviving in the countryside and on the periphery of the empire, while in the large cities the cases were isolated and are to be seen in the context of imperial antagonism against the aristocracy. Justinian, however, apart from persecuting pagans, also persecuted heretics and homosexuals. His rule became gradually more autocratic, intolerant and oppressive. His policy had a long-lasting effect on urban culture, for it delivered a final blow to the ancient identity of the upper class, which for centuries had been based on classical education and its values. Thus the Christian literature of the time is triumphalistic in its celebration of the victory of Christianity. The Homily of Jacob of Serugh *On the Fall of the Idols* celebrates the defeat of paganism, the destruction of the pagan statues and the establishment of the cult of saints and churches on their sites. A similar spirit informs the homilies of Leontius and the hymns of Romanus Melodus.[2045]

Construction of churches on the sites of pagan temples is attested in literary sources as early as the fourth century. In Jerusalem, Constantine built the church of the Holy Sepulchre on the site of a temple of Aphrodite.[2046] After the measures of Theodosius against paganism, bishops in the East set about demolishing pagan temples and constructing Christian churches on their sites. A famous example is that of the Marneion in Gaza. Here the temple, whose destruction by Porphyry is described in his *Life*, was demolished and on its site a church was built by the empress Eudocia. The violent destruction of the temple and the construction of a church on its site are presented as a triumph of the Church and an example of pressure on the pagans to convert to Christianity.[2047] Theological interpretations of the transformation of temples into churches were also proposed. It was a necessary step to purify the temples. Theodoret of Cyrus explains that the materials of the pagan temples were sanctified by the erection of martyrs' churches. He admits, however, that Christians hesitated to dedicate to Christ stones that had belonged to the pagan gods.[2048] In Greece, bishop Iovianos recorded in an inscription on the lintel of the door of the basilica of Palaiopolis in Corfu the destruction of a pagan temple and the construction of a basilica on the site. The mosaics of the basilica are dated to the fifth or probably the sixth century.[2049] In the reign of Justinian, probably in 538, the Hadrianeion of Caesarea Maritima was transformed into a church and the event commemorated in an inscription in the church.[2050] In Gerasa, an inscription from the Church of St. Theodore, dated to the fifth-sixth century and placed on the lintel of the central west door of the atrium, commemorates the erection of the church on the site of a "refuse tip for dead animals". The text refers to the pollution of the site (ἀκοσμίης ... νέκυς λήμης), which was dissolved by

(pp. 209-225). For the persistence of paganism in Syria see Bowersock, *Hellenism*, 29-40; John of Nikiou, 98.1-13; Theophylact Simocatta, I.11.3 ff.; Michael the Syrian, X.24. See also S. Brock, A Syriac Collection of Prophecies of the Pagan Philosophers, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14 (1983), 203-246, esp. p. 233 (c. 26).

[2044] E. Wipszycka, La christianisation de l'Égypte, *Aegypus* 68 (1988), 157-158.

[2045] A. Martin, Discours de Jacques de Saroug sur la chute des idoles, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29 (1875), 107-147; Leontius, *Hom.* I.1.130 (σημεῖον ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς ἐκατνίσθη); *Hom.* 12.32 ff.; Romanus Melodus, c. 33.17 (p. 265).

[2046] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* III.25-40. See also Trombley, *Hellenic Religion* I, 112 ff.

[2047] R. Van Dam, From Paganism to Christianity at Late Antique Gaza, *Viator* 16 (1985), 1-20; Trombley, *Hellenic Religion* I, 187-282; K. G. Holum, In the Blinking of an Eye: The Christianizing of Classical Cities in the Levant, in A. Berlin (ed.), *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, MD 1996), 131-150.

[2048] Theodoret of Cyrus, *Therapeutike* VIII.68: εἰ δὲ τοίνυν ὅλα καθωσιώθησαν τοῖς τῶν μαρτύρων σηκοῖς, and p. 69. Saradi-Mendelovici, Christian Attitudes, 54-55.

[2049] J. C. Papadimitriou, Ὁ Ἰοβιανός τῆς βασιλικῆς τῆς Παλαιοπόλεως Κερκύρας, *AE* (1942-44), suppl., 39-48; J.-P. Sodini, Mosaïques paléochrétiennes de Grèce, *BCH* 94 (1970), 729-731.

[2050] W. J. Moulton, Gleanings in Archaeology and Epigraphy 4. A Caesarean Inscription, *AASOR* 1 (1919-1920), 86-90; G. Downey, Caesarea and the Christian Church, in Ch. T. Fritsch (ed.), *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima*. I. *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima* (Missoula, Montana 1975), 37-38.

God's grace. In the past there had been "the grievous stench of cast-out quadrupeds worn with toil" (καὶ ποτε τετρακόδων ὀτόσα μογόντα δαμεὶν ἐνθάδε ῥιπτομένων ὀδμὴ διεπτάρητο λιγυρή. Καὶ πνοῆς πόθον εἴχε κακοιμὴν ἀλεείνων).[2051] From Ezra, in Syria an inscription recording the transformation of a pagan temple into a Church of St. Sergius is probably dated to the sixth century. The tone of the first lines of the text is triumphalistic, which refer to the destruction of idols by God's power, to the "sculptural gods" (τὸ πρὶν γλυπτῶν δαιμόνων) and the polluted stones of the temple (ἀγχίστους λίθοις δεδημιάνους), evoking the famous passage of Theodoret.[2052] Another inscription from Ezra (a. 514 A.D.) commemorates the establishment of a church dedicated to the Martyr George in a pagan temple (Θεοῦ γέγονεν οἶκος τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων καταγώγιον) and the deposition of relics inside. It is stated that the martyr appeared in a vision (οὐ κατ' ἔτνον ἀλλὰ φανερῶς) to the *proteuon* Johannes, who employed his own money to construct the church.[2053]

Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence cannot always provide accurate dates, but in general the transformation of most of the temples into Christian churches appears to have occurred later. Around three hundred pagan temples all over the Mediterranean world were turned into churches. Only in eighty-three cases were churches established in the cella, whilst the remainder were constructed just outside the sacred area.[2054] In the temple of Bel in Palmyra, a church was constructed inside the sanctuary and part of a fresco depicting saints was found on the wall of the cella. Another Christian basilica was established in the temple court.[2055] Sometimes a basilica was built in the temple court and a baptistery in the cella.[2056] In most cases, the temples were already abandoned or ruined, and any further, voluntary destruction by Christians before the temples' abandonment does not appear to have been very extensive, especially in Greece (see p. 360, Figure 45). In numerous other cases, the Christians avoided sacred pagan sites, which according to popular belief were inhabited by pagan demons. The architectural form of the temples might also have created difficulties in the process of converting them into churches. On the other hand, construction of churches on the sites of temples sent a strong message of victory to remaining pagans, leaving them not much choice but to convert.[2057]

Practical factors of early Byzantine urbanism may also have dictated the erection of churches on the site of pagan temples: churches concealed ruinous temples and adorned central and prestigious civic sites. This aspect is to be observed in the cities of the East that had strong tradition of urbanism and where the pride in the city's beauty was still alive.[2058]

[2051] Welles, Inscriptions, 476-477.

[2052] Ch. Mondésert, Inscriptions et objets chrétiens de Syrie et de Palestine, *Syria* 37 (1960), 125-130; Theodoret of Cyrus, *Therapeutike* VIII.68-69.

[2053] *CIG* IV, 8627; F. W. Deichmann, Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern, *JdI* 54 (1939), 105; Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, 140-142.

[2054] R. P. C. Hanson, The Transformation of Pagan Temples into Churches in the Early Christian Centuries, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 23 (1978), 257-267. For Syria, Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, 245-249; P. M. Mišojević, Retrofit Ecclesia: a Non-Conforming Building Type, *BzZ* 24 (1997), 343-366. In Italy also from the sixth century churches are apparently built on the sites of temples, while earlier they were built in other civic buildings, such as baths, cisterns, porticoes, civic basilicas, theatres, circuses. Vasi, "Nova construere", 299-321; idem, Christliche Wiederverwendung, 126 ff.

[2055] D. Schlumberger, Études sur Palmyre: I. Le développement urbain de Palmyre, *Berytus* 2 (1935), 161; Lassus, *Sanctuaires*, 246.

[2056] N. Duval, P.-A. Février and J. Lassus, Groupes épiscopaux de Syrie et d'Afrique du Nord, in *Apamée (1972)*, 230-233.

[2057] J.-M. Spieser, La christianisation des sanctuaires païens en Grèce, in U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern, Symposion in Olympia 10.-12. Oktober 1974. Ansätzen der Hundertjahrfeier der Abteilung Athen* (Tübingen 1976), 309-320; L. Foschia, La réutilisation des sanctuaires païens par les chrétiens en Grèce continentale (IVe-VIIe s.), *REG* 113 (2000), 413-434; Gregory, Paganism, 237; Trombley, *Hellenic Religion* I, 208-122.

[2058] B. Ward-Perkins, Reconfiguring Sacred Space: From Pagan Shrines to Christian Churches, in Brandt and Severin, *Stadt*, 285-290, esp. 288-290.

FIG. 45. The so-called "Panagia sten Petra" on the River Ilissos, Athens. It was built inside a temple of Artemis in the early Byzantine period or the seventh century.

In the city of Athens, paganism and pagan temples survived longer. There the pagan tradition had deep roots in the city's history. Furthermore, the intellectuals of the Academy helped maintain the vigour of paganism. The first Christian church in the ancient civic centre was probably established in the Library of Hadrian in the first half of the fifth century (Figure 46).[2059] Forms of the cult of Asclepius survived until the violent destruction of the Asclepieion by Christians around 485. The first Christian basilica on the site is dated from the last years of the fifth century. The cult of the healing god continued in the Christian church, however, dedicated to St. Andrew, a healing saint, while the incubation stoa, the sacred spring and the *katagogeion* were maintained.[2060] The Parthenon may already have been transformed into a church as early as the second half of the fifth century, while the Erechtheion and the Hephaisteion appear to have been converted into churches later, from the end of the sixth century.[2061] The transformation of the southeast part of House C on the Areopagus into a baptistery is dated to the

[2059] A. Karivieri, The So-Called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens, in Castrén, *Post-Herulian Athens*, 89-113.

[2060] Gregory, Paganism, 238-239; A. Karivieri, The Christianization of an Ancient Pilgrimage Site: A Case Study of the Athenian Asklepieion, *ACAC XII (1991)*, II, 898-905.

[2061] C. Mango, The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church: The Tübingen Theosophy, *DOAE* 18 (1995), 201-203; Trombley, *Hellenic Religion* I, 342-344; A. Frantz, From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens, *DOP* 19 (1965), 187-205.

FIG. 46. The Tetraconch in Athens. In the fifth century, part of the Library of Hadrian was transformed into a church with four conches opening onto a central square space. It was lavishly decorated with mosaic pavements and marble revetments.

first half of the sixth century, probably as a result of Justinian's measures against pagan higher education. The nymphaeum of the house was transformed into a pool; the mosaic floor was removed and replaced with a mosaic depicting a red cross. The state of some pieces of statues indicate that they had been violently destroyed by Christians, while a bust of Athena was placed upside down so as to function as a step block.[2062] Certainly, however, this was not a general pattern in the sixth century. Christian hostility toward pagan monuments as symbols of paganism depended on local circumstances and the leading individuals involved. Establishment of churches on pagan sites in Asia Minor is particularly attested from the fifth century, after the temples had been abandoned and destroyed.[2063] In contrast to the situation in Greece, episcopal churches in Asia Minor were often built on the sites of temples. Most famous is the Church of the Virgin in Ephesus, adjacent to the Hadrianic Olympieion. In the sixth century,

[2062] Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, 88-90; P. Castrén, Paganism and Christianity in Athens and Vicinity during the Fourth to Sixth Centuries A.D., in Brogiolo and Ward-Perkins, *The Idea*, 211-223; N. Gkioles, *Η Αθήνα στους πρώτους Χριστιανικούς αιώνες. Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη* (Athens 2005).

[2063] G. Grassi, Scultura architettonica e spolia marmoree della Panaghia di Antalya nel quadro della produzione artistica dell'Asia Minore meridionale in epoca paleobizantina, in *Milion* (Rome 1960), 108 with bibliographical references.

Procopius records the conversion of the temples of Artemis and Iphigenia at Golden Comana in Cappadocia, which according to ancient tradition were built by Orestes.[2064] John of Ephesus, during his missionary work in Asia Minor, built a church on the site of a temple at the village of Derira in the district of Tralleis.[2065] From Egypt, we have an account of the destruction of a pagan temple and the erection of a martyrium on its site in the panegyric of St. Claudius by Severus of Antioch. Severus had fled to Egypt, seeking safety away from his enemies. In a vision, St. Claudius revealed to him that his body was buried near a pagan temple in a village of the province of Asyut, and ordered Severus to construct a martyrium on the site. With the help of a local monk, the site of the burial of St. Claudius was discovered. On the monk's advice, the notables of the village purified the temple and built a church on the site. All the villagers participated in the destruction of the temple with their animals and tools, and the temple site was purified by Severus. The villagers contributed gold for the construction of the church, while the duke of the province donated furniture, wood, and specialized workers.[2066]

The process of the Christianization of pagan sites is also illustrated in hagiographical texts. In earlier *Lives* of saints, episodes are recorded of violent destruction of temples by bishops-saints.[2067] The most famous cases are the destruction of the Marneion by Porphyry, bishop of Gaza (395-420), and of the temple of Zeus by Marcellus, bishop of Apamea during the reign of Theodosius. In the *Life* of Porphyry the destruction of the Marneion and the construction of a church on the site are described in great detail: the deliberations about how to proceed, the method of destruction and its symbolic significance. The treasures of the temples were appropriated by the Christian mob and bishops: St. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis-Constantia in Cyprus († 403) found much gold in a pagan temple, sealed by the pagans, and was able to relieve his flock from famine; Porphyry felt obliged to pronounce the anathema on those Christians who removed precious objects from the destroyed temples of Gaza.[2068]

From the later fifth century, violent destruction of temples is not recorded in Greek hagiographical texts. Temples are presented as abandoned, but still standing and inhabited by pagan demons. Those in the countryside provided refuge for saints and an opportunity to fight demons on their own ground. St. Daniel the Stylite († 493) settles in a temple at Anaplous on the Bosporus after fighting against the demons for three days, as if he were a soldier fighting against barbarians.[2069] The holy man Thalelaeus attempts to settle in an ancient temple, 7 km outside the coastal city of Gabala south of Antioch. There he fights against the demons and manages to direct their fury against the trees, more than five hundred of which are uprooted. In vain the demons try to terrify him by wailing and displaying torches at night. He demolished the temple with the help of converted locals and builds a church on the site.[2070] In the *Life* of St. Matrona, Matrona settles in a pagan temple near Berytus in hiding from her husband. But the temple is still a profane place (βέβηλος) and the demons of the temple attempt to force her leave by singing immoral songs. She protects herself as with a wall with the sign of the cross and by uttering *epitimia* she forces them to flee to the mountains. In this text the saint's victory over the demons is presented as a spiritual fight of moral nature.[2071] Paganism had been defeated long ago. The demons of the

[2064] Procopius, *De Bello Persico* I.17.18.

[2065] John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.36 (p. 230).

[2066] *Panegyricus S. Claudii*, 495-503.

[2067] H. Saradi, The Christianization of Pagan Temples from the Greek Hagiographical Texts (4th-6th c.) (forthcoming); Trombley, *Hellenic Religion* I, 123-129, 187 ff.

[2068] *Vita S. Epiphanii*, *PG* 41, 89C-92B; *Vita S. Porphyrii*, c. 65 (pp. 51-52), 69 (pp. 55-56).

[2069] *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae*, c. 14-18 (pp. 14-18, and 96, 111-112).

[2070] Theodoret of Cyrus, *Historia Philoth.* XXVIII.1-2 (II, 224-226, 230).

[2071] *Vita S. Matronae*, c. 14-15 (p. 798A-C), p. 799B: τοὺς ἐν τῷ ναῷ δαίμονας ἡ πολυπεία αὐτῆς ἡ ἀγγελικὴ καὶ ἡ ἀγνεία ἡ λαμπρὰ μετανάστησε καὶ φυγάδας κατέστησεν.

pagan temples had become mere symbols of the evil. In the later part of the early Byzantine period, there was no violent confrontation with pagans, the saints destroyed already abandoned pagan temples, and utilized them to settle in and to Christianize them. Later, in the seventh century, the situation had crystallized irrevocably in favour of the Christians. St. Gregory of Acragas, who flourished around 700, although his *vita* anachronistically contains events from the sixth century, builds a church on a pagan temple on the outskirts of the city of Acragas. When he settles in the temple, he erects an altar and raises the cross. His prayers force the demons dwelling into the idols of Eber and Rhaps to leave. Then he erects a church on the site dedicated to Peter and Paul.[2072] In this account, the demons have lost all power of resistance and leave quietly. A personal confrontation of the saint with the pagan demons is no longer necessary to expel them from the temple. The temple is cleansed of the pagan spirits and Christianized by means of a religious ritual. Such accounts reflect the confidence of the Christians at the end of the early Byzantine period. It is no longer the saints who chase the demons from their sites. Instead, the latter try to force out of temples the saints already established there. By the sixth century, the temples belonged to the past. The remnants of active pagan communities, very few at the time in border areas and in the countryside or isolated individuals in cities, were converted or defeated. Thus, vis-à-vis pagan temples, assertive Christianity could affirm its superiority at a moral level and in a spiritual, more dignified manner.

In the sixth-century, the physical condition of temples varied from one city to another. Some temples were razed to the ground and their building materials were used in other constructions, including churches. Others remained standing, but vacant, stripped of their treasures and cult statues, and purified with crosses to avert the pagan demons. In some of them, churches were built in the cella, in the forecourt or on the ground near by. The sight of such temples abandoned, dilapidated or taken over by churches must have been very powerful.[2073] It was mentioned above that one church was built inside the cella of the temple of Bel and another in the court. The famous temple of Artemis in Gerasa was surrounded by Christian churches. The so-called Propylaea Church occupied the Propylaea of the temple. Next to the temple itself stood the Cathedral, resting on a dismantled temple.[2074] Behind the Cathedral stood the church of St. Theodore, then the triple church dedicated to Saints Cosmas, Damian and George, and a little further away the Church of Bishop Genesius and the Synagogue Church (Plan VI). In Aphrodisias, the temple of Aphrodite behind the forum was converted into a church during or after the reign of Leo I (457-474), which was rendered much larger than the ancient temple by the removal of the columns of the temple of the short sides and their addition to the long sides to form the colonnades of the basilica. The walls of the cella were taken down and the stones used in the walls of the church. An atrium was added to the west, surrounded with porticoes.[2075] The relocation of the columns required much work and complex engineering. Even when the pagan temples were still standing, the appearance of churches on their sites made it obvious to everyone that the break with the past was radical and irrevocable.

The façade, the propylon and the colonnades of many temples remained standing for centuries, while their interior was destroyed, desecrated and used for other purposes. Obviously temple exteriors were preserved to adorn the centre of cities. At Scythopolis at the point where the two central avenues converge facing the acropolis, stood a small elegant temple, probably dedicated to Dionysus, mythical

[2072] *Vita S. Gregorii Agrigentini*, 285-286 (c. 100) and pp. 395-396.

[2073] See also A. Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge 1995), 94-100.

[2074] B. Brenk, C. Jaggi and H. R. Meier, Gerasa, Cathedral, *AJA* 101 (1997), 523-524.

[2075] R. Cormack, The temple as the cathedral, in *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 75-88; Smith and Ratté, *AJA* 104 (2000), 227-230.

founder of the city, whose nurse Nyse was buried there (Plan V). While the interior of the temple was destroyed and an early Byzantine aqueduct passed through it, its façade remained standing, adorning the city centre until the middle of the eighth century when it collapsed in an earthquake. If the temple was indeed dedicated to Dionysus, it may have been maintained also for its connection with the city's foundation myth.[2076] Similar examples can be found in the West. The façade of the temple of the Dioscuri at Naples, in which the Church of San Paolo Maggiore was built, was kept and only the images of the two gods were destroyed. Early in the fifth century the cathedral of Trieste was built in the Capitolium, the pronaos of which was preserved.[2077]

The urban learned élites, albeit in decreasing numbers, continued to express their appreciation of the artistic value of the temples. They admired them for their great size, architectural beauty, and as symbols of the ancient culture.[2078] Aeneas of Gaza refers to the attraction that intellectuals felt for the monuments of Athens.[2079]

Despoliation

In early Byzantine cities despoliation of abandoned temples and civic buildings and reuse of their material in new constructions was widely practiced.[2080] The emperor Julian obliged those who had built their houses with stones from dilapidated temples to pay for them. Columns taken from temples were returned by ships or wagons.[2081] Imperial legislation encouraged the despoliation of temples for the construction of bridges, aqueducts and walls, while slabs of marble were removed, even from tombs, to be used as adornments even for banqueting halls and porticoes, which was considered a disgraceful practice.[2082] The Fathers of the Church reacted to the widespread despoliation of tombs, and Gregory of Nazianzus emphasized the issue in eighty epigrams, one of which is entitled *To those who build churches out of stones taken from tombs*.[2083] This trend began in the fourth century when public buildings were abandoned and it subsequently accelerated. Archaeology vividly illustrates the process of dilapidation of ancient buildings and the recycling of their material. The large amount of marble chips found at the

[2076] Foerster and Tsafrir, *ESI* 6 (1987/8), 27; idem, Urbanism, 111.

[2077] R. Strandberg, Il tempio dei Dioscuri a Napoli. Un disegno inedito di Andrea Palladio nel Museo Nagionale di Stoccolma, *Palladio* 11 (1961), 31-40; Vaes, "Nova construere", 303-304.

[2078] *Chronicle*, ed. Chabot, vol. II, pp. 262-263 (the temple of Zeus Helios at Baalbek). See also *Panegyricus S. Claudii*, 499 (the temples of Egypt).

[2079] *Enea di Gaza*, M. E. Colonna (Napoli 1958), 3.15-16.

[2080] On the use of spolia in early Byzantine buildings for convenience and their function in creating new aesthetic trends see F. W. Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur* (Munich 1975); idem, Il materiale di spoglio nell'architettura tardoantica, *CorsRav* XXIII (1976), 131-146; Cantino Wataghin, Ut haec aedes, 673-749; A. Cutler, Reuse or use? Theoretical and practical attitudes toward objects in the early Middle Ages, ibid., 1055-1079. For the West see Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 212-218; idem, Re-Using, 225-244; J. Alchermes, *Spolia* in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse, *DOP* 48 (1994), 167-178; I. H. Forsyth, Art with History: The Role of Spolia in the Cumulative Work of Art, in C. Moss and K. Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West, Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton 1995), 153-162; D. Kinney, Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting *Spolia*, in S. C. Scott (ed.), *Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University* IX (1995), 52-67; H. Saradi, The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3 (1997), 395-423; L. de Lachenal, *Spolia. Uso e reimpiego dell'antico dal III al XIV secolo* (Milan 1995).

[2081] Libanius, *Or.* XVIII.126 (II, 290.2-6).

[2082] *CTh* XV.1.36; XVI.10.16; IX.17.4 and 5.

[2083] *Anthologia Graeca* VIII.173. On the use of funerary monuments in new structures see Coates-Stephens, *Spolia*, 350-352.

site of temple E in Corinth shows that after the temple collapsed in the earthquake of 365 A.D., its stones were recut *in situ* to be used in other buildings.[2084] In Gerasa a mason's establishment functioned between the Fountain Court of the cathedral and the temple of Artemis: two columns were found cut in slices to produce marble slabs for pavement or wall revetment, and some were left half-sawn.[2085] Bath C at Antioch was totally dilapidated at the time of Justinian: bricks, marble floor, wall revetment and masonry from the walls were all taken in operations whose trenches survive, showing the method used. The excavator describes the deplorable state in which the building was left: "There was such a wealth of material in this and other buildings, that the wreckers never wasted time, but carelessly pried out the material, breaking many of the bricks, the fragments of which were found scattered all through the lower stratum of débris, together with such stones from the core of the walls as had been dislodged and discarded, and many pieces of roof tiles".[2086] Next to the stadium of Messene a funerary monument was dismantled in the early Byzantine period for its metal: 1400 architectural members were found around the podium lacking their metal joints. The members bore traces of the instruments used to break the stone and remove the metal.[2087] Some early Byzantine buildings were built almost entirely of spolia. For example, 2000 reused blocks have been counted incorporated in the group of churches of Katapoliani in Paros in the fifth to the sixth century. Eleven seats of the proedria of the theatre were reused for the synthronon of the fifth-century basilica and the Justinianic basilica.[2088] The churches of Gerasa were also built with spolia: most remarkable is that of bishop Marianos by the hippodrome, built in 570 entirely of spolia and using a small column as altar.[2089] In Pella in the Civic Complex Church next to the theatre, the twenty columns were all of different styles and taken from Roman buildings.[2090] In the theatre/odeum at Kôm el-Dikka in Alexandria all the slabs were re-used and they were of various forms and materials.[2091] The method employed in recycling old building material in new constructions is to be observed in the finds at various archaeological sites. For example, at Sagalassos the slabs of the east wall of the Christian Basilica E1 were marked with two numbers on the upper part to identify their exact position in the wall, the one of the layer and the other one of the position of each block.[2092] In an example from later centuries, after the baths of Kôm el-Dikka were destroyed by an earthquake in 792, they were dismantled and architectural material, consisting of pillars, columns from the colonnaded courtyard, and various architectural ornaments, was gathered for reuse. Traces of incisions indicate where columns and bases were to be cut for the new use.[2093] At the end of the early Byzantine period, when the economic conditions of communities were deteriorating, after destruction caused by natural disasters, the new churches were often built with spolia from the earlier destroyed basilicas.[2094] At

[2084] Williams, Temple E, 336.

[2085] Crowfoot, Christian Churches, 185.

[2086] *Antioch* I, 20.

[2087] F. A. Cooper, Scamilli impares and the Heroon at Messene, in L. Haselberger (ed.), *Appearance and Essence. Refinements of Classical Architecture: Curvature* (Philadelphia 1999), 185-197.

[2088] *BCH* 107 (1983), 811-812; 108 (1984), 818-820.

[2089] Gawlikowski and Musa, The Church, 141.

[2090] Smith and McNicoll, Pella, 104.

[2091] B. Tkaczow, *Topography of Ancient Alexandria (An Archaeological Map)* (Warsaw 1993), 86.

[2092] M. Waelkens, in *Sagalassos* I, 101.

[2093] W. Kołątaj, Les fouilles polonaises à Kôm el-Dikka (Alexandrie) en 1968 et 1969, *ET* 6 (1972), 165 and fig. 22; on reused architectural parts in Kôm el-Dikka see B. Tkaczow, Observations préliminaires sur les fragments de décoration architectonique à Kôm el-Dikka (Alexandrie), *ET* 16 (1992), 225-256.

[2094] For example, Ch. Bakirtzis, Ανασκαφή παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής στο Κηπιό του Πυργουίου, *AEMT* 2 (1988), 435; in Apamea, the Atrium Church: Foss, Syria, 213-214.

many sites, broken fragments of sculpture were found inside and around kilns to be burnt for lime.[206] Lime was a cheap material and was widely used in the early Byzantine period for the construction and plastering of walls and floors, for moulded plaster window frames, benches,[207] and stucco decoration.[208]

There is no doubt that the desire for convenience played a major role in the despoliation of ancient buildings and the reuse of their material.[209] A decline in the art and production of large sculptural units is also certain.[210] This created a need for ready architectural ornaments and statues. The preference for new material in buildings sponsored by court patrons suggests that only upper class members could afford to use new materials. Also careful study of spolia in major monuments shows that some of them are better worked than others in the same structure, suggesting that the work was financed by various sponsors of differing financial capabilities.[211] On the other hand there is no doubt that the use of spolia in new buildings was often intentional. Spolia could convey a political or cultural message, as did the spolia used by Constantine in his triumphal apse in Rome: they underlined Constantine's legitimate claims to power and his assumption of the legacy of the great Roman emperors. The concerns of Theodoric as presented in the Letters of Cassiodorus appear to have been similar.[212] Spolia in Christian churches were to be understood as a declaration of victory over paganism and so glorified the Church. Several Christian writers interpreted the display of statues in Constantinople and in other cities as symbolizing pagan decent and as a means of ridiculing paganism.[213] The *Life of Porphyry* is explicit: since the decision was taken to build a church on the site of the Marneion at Gaza, the bishop gave orders that the church's forecourt be paved with slabs of marble from the most sacred part of the temple, in order that people and animals would then step on them.[214] In the central church of Priene, adjacent to the Roman gymnasium, the numerous marble spolia and inscriptions from the temple of Athena were probably intended to convey the same message.[215] At Sardis, the Hellenistic statue of Zeus was broken up and fragments of the head were built into the apse of Church M during the reign of Justinian. At Sardis, too, pieces of a small archaic kore were used to repair the floor of a chapel in the fifth to sixth

[206] For example, Foss, *Ephesus*, 36-47: despoliation of the temple of Artemis in Ephesus and installation of a lime kiln 5 m in diameter and crude kiln of the late-fourth. For Pergamon: W. Radt, *AnzeAk* 37 (1987), 233.

[207] E. Hostelier, Archaeology in Cyprus, *AJA* 102 (1998), 395; M. C. McCollum and M. L. Rautman, The 1990 Field Season at Kalavasos-Kopetra, *RDAC* 1991, 231-235; M. Hadjicosti, Excavations at Pyla-Koutsopetria, *AEDA* 1993 (1998), 70-72.

[208] For example, V. Canivet, L'âge de Justinian en Orientalie et en Istrie, *ACAC* XXV (1994), II, 952-953.

[209] L. Leggio, Valutazione del reimpiego: il caso di Efeso, *Lat.* 1 (2001), 979-981.

[210] B. Kiilerich, Sculpture at the Round in the Early Byzantine Period: Constantinople and the East, in *Aspects of Late Antiquity*, 95-97.

[211] Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 214-217; C. Th. Rapti, Συμπεριφορες απο αρχαιοτερο δημοσιο κτισμα της Αγχιαλου, *ΔΕΛΤ* 53 (1998), 220-229. For observations on monuments of Aphrodisias see supra, pp. 226-227.

[212] B. Brenk, Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology, *DOP* 41 (1987), 103-106; Cosentino-Stephens, *Spolia*, 255.

[213] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* III.54; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V.10; John Chrysostom, *PG* 50, 561, 572; Theodoret of Cyrus, *Therapeutike* X.96; see also Sarah Mendelowitz, Christian Attitudes, 30.

[214] Vita S. Porphyrii, c. 76 (p. 61, l. 11) . . . τὰς πλακόεσσας καὶ βαθεῖς τῆς μεγαρωτάτης καὶ θειοτάτης τοῦ Μαρνείου, ἔσω τῆς ἐν τῷ ἄστει τῆς Γαζαίων ἐκκλησίας κατεστρώσατο, μάλιστα μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ βοῶν τῷ πατήματι κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου τόπου ἀφιερώσας, ἵνα καταπατοῦνται οἱ μάλιστα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἀνοσίας καὶ πονηρᾶς καὶ ἀγόρευε καὶ ἀνοήτου· Τάδε δὲ πάντα θέσκελον κεῖ, μεμιμήμενα δωτίνας θεῶν κεῖ κεῖνοι. Τάδε δὲ πάντες ἀθάνατοι, ἀθάνατοι δὲ γενεάων, οἷσι θεμέλιον κεῖ, μεμιμήμενα δωτίνας θεῶν κεῖ κεῖνοι.

[215] Wiegand, *Priene*, 480-485.

century.[216] A relief of Artemis and Cybele was incorporated face down into the forecourt of the Synagogue at Sardis.[218] At Meiro, during excavations in the Baptistery, statues with their heads broken were found around a tomb, probably Christian. Some were buried in the foundation wall near the Baptistery. The statue of Isis had a cross carved on its back.[219]

Everywhere new buildings, secular and Christian, were constructed from a wide variety of recycled material.[220] The creation of new architectural units from such diverse components was not always an easy task. Detailed and difficult planning was often required to match columns of different height, various capitals and bases.[221] The asymmetrical arrangement of diverse sculptured pieces exemplified the new fashion in architecture, varietas, in contrast to the symmetrical order of classical art. I have already mentioned in earlier chapters that the architectures and urban planning of this period was gradually breaking free from tradition. The new style emphasized variety, a feature that was also appreciated in literature,[222] and asymmetry: in the same buildings stood alternating columns and capitals of various styles, colours and sizes, or there might be columns alternating with piers;[223] the same pavements were decorated partly in mosaic and partly in marble slabs;[224] spolia in walls and pavements were obviously part of the new ornamental style. Such decoration must have created the impression of embroidery. In the words of H. P. L'Orange:

> The eye is no longer fixed upon the separate building parts. This is the reason why the flood of antique spolia, i.e., building parts taken from earlier monuments, are admitted into the architecture of Late Antiquity, where they may be transplanted for essentially different architectural purposes . . . Characteristically abstract, peculiarly far-seeing and therefore summary, the glance skips over detail and articulation in order to rest with mass and dimension.[225]

Ancient art was deconstructed and disguised in new structures in the Christian cities. Upon seeing examples of this new approach, urban residents may have immediately recognized some pieces, especially pieces of sculpture, others may have been reinterpreted, but with the passage of time the original meaning of most of them was certainly lost.

Walls of early Byzantine cities incorporate numerous spolia. The early Byzantine wall at Athens, one of the best-known examples, was filled with reused material from buildings destroyed by the Herulians, whilst the outer blocks were also reused (Figures 47a, 47b). Apart from the practical considerations that favoured the use of spolia, the builders were clearly concerned to produce an attractive appearance.[226] The fourth-century wall of Aphrodisias, which incorporates the stadium, was built with

[216] G. M. A. Hanfmann and N. H. Ramage, Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975 (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London 1978), 39.

[218] Hanfmann, Sardis, 176.

[219] D. MacKenzie, Excavations of the British School at Meiro, The Site of the "Three Churches", *JHS* 17 (1897), 122-133.

[220] For a general description of the spolia used in early Byzantine buildings in Ephesus see Scherrer, Ephesus, 15-22. For Gerasa, see M. Almy, Architectural reuse at Jerash: a case study in transformation of the urban fabric, 350 B.C.-750 A.D. (PhD Diss., Ann Arbor 1995); for Rome see D. Manacorda, Roma. I monumenti romani in rovina, in Storia di Roma III/2, 93-104.

[221] See the observations of Ben-Nathan and Mazor, *ESI* 11 (1992), 42.

[222] See supra, pp. 47-48.

[223] See supra, pp. 226, 236-237, 264, 269-270, 277-278.

[224] See supra, p. 277.

[225] H. P. L. Orange, *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire* (Princeton, New Jersey 1965), 14-15.

[226] T. Gregory, The Fortified Cities of Byzantine Greece, Archaeology 35 (1982), 17-18.

FIG. 47a. Section of the post-Herulian wall in Athens constructed from spolia.

FIG. 47b. Another section of the post-Herulian wall displaying ample use of spolia.

FIG. 48. The so-called Gate of Persecution in Ephesus. This is the main gate in the south side of the wall enclosing the Basilica of St. John and the hill of Ayasoluk. The gate is flanked by two square towers built from spolia. The gate itself is adorned with a sarcophagus relief depicting cupids gathering grapes. Other sarcophagus slabs with mythological scenes are now at Woburn Abbey in England.

rubble masonry and entirely covered on the outside with spolia.[2115] Often the spolia were used only in the foundation of walls, or are placed in prominent positions in city gates obviously for their ornamental value (Figure 48),[2116] or in the lower part of the city walls to protect them from battering rams or crowbars,[2117] or as doorjambs and at the corners of towers to strengthen them.[2118] In some early Byzantine walls, the arrangement of spolia was certainly ornamental, the ornamental design reserved for the outer face of the wall. In the wall at Sparta, it has been suggested that slabs and column drums form a combination imitating metopes and triglyphs.[2119] The use of spolia in a section of the post-Herulian wall in Athens stretching from the Stoa of Attalos to the Library of Hadrian created a uniform visual

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[2115] Ratté, New research, 125-126.

[2116] For example, S. Kerner and A. Hoffmann, Gadara-Umm Qeis. Preliminary Report on the 1991 and 1992 Seasons, *ADAJ* 27 (1993), 360.

[2117] J. J. Wilkes, Civil defence in third-century Achaia, in S. Walker and A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium* (*BICS* suppl. 55, London 1989), 187-192.

[2118] Bowden, *Epirus Vetus*, 99-101.

[2119] D. Pringle, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest* (*BAR Int. Series* 99, Oxford 1981, repr. 2001), 133 ff. and pl. LXXVIIb (Tignica); Gregory, Fortification, 56-57; Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Δίον: η οχυρωση της ύφωης οχυρώτητος, *AEMT* 4 (1990), 197; C. Foss, Sites and Strongholds of Northern Lydia, *AnatSt* 37 (1987), 84. See also M. Greenhalgh, Spolia in fortifications: Turkey, Syria and North Africa, in *Ideologie e pratiche*, 785-832.

effect blending the wall with the façade of the Roman building.[2120] The marble statue of a lion incorporated in the southeast end of the wall of the acropolis of Sardis slightly projecting outwards[2121] may have had an apotropaic significance.

Slabs sculptured with pagan scenes, altars, sarcophagi and other smaller ornaments of an explicit pagan character were often used in early Christian churches in conspicuous places. Now deprived of any pagan association, they were obviously used merely as ornaments. From the *Life* of St. Parthenius, who lived in the reign of Constantine, we learn that bishop Parthenius found a precious (τίμιον) slab at

FIG. 49. Frieze with five masks on the northeast wall of the apse of Basilica E1 at Sagalassos.

[2120] I. Kastrakis et al., 420-44 (1989), *Chr.* B1, 15.
[2121] C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. et al., The Sardis Campaign of 1984, *BASOR* suppl. 25 (1982-85), 46.

a pagan site (ἐν τόπῳ κεκαθιδρυμένῳ), had it re-worked by artists and used it as altar in his new church.[2122] In Colophon, near Ephesus, an inscription records that a bishop ordered the construction of an ambo, the stoas and various other parts of a church from material from the temple of Apollo Klarios.[2123] Perhaps the most explicit use of spolia displaying pagan imagery is found in Basilica E1 at Sagalassos, built in the fifth or early sixth century on the site of a small temple of Dionysus. The church was constructed from numerous spolia, especially architrave-blocks. On the upper part of the northeast wall of the apse, a frieze is incorporated with five masks on the one side, and dancing satyrs on the other (Figure 49).[2124] It may be that many churches incorporated slabs with explicit pagan sculptures, but they have left no trace because the walls of churches have not survived to a high enough point. Observations on the use of spolia in the basilicas of Nicopolis in Greece suggest that their display was more deliberate in earlier churches, at a time when there was still a need for the Church to demonstrate its power, a need that had lessened by the time later basilicas were built. In particular, the ambo of Basilica B, a relief statue base, was cut and part of it was smoothened and covered by a mosaic representing Christ and Virgin flanked by saints and angels. The greater part of the piece, however, was conspicuously preserved in its original form (Figures 50a, 50b).[2125] Altars were also broken and reused for burning incense or as lamp stands.[2126] In some churches, various ancient pieces are found reused as basins for holy water. Examples are known from various sites, as a pagan altar placed upside down and hollowed out, an ancient

a.

b.

FIG. 50a. Base of the ambo of Basilica B (Basilica of Alkiten) in Nicopolis from a statue base, displaying an amazonomachy.

FIG. 50b. The same base has been covered partly with a Christian mosaic.

[2122] Ps. *S. Parthenii*, *PG* 114, 1352D.
[2123] Th. Macridy, Antiquités de Notion II, *JÖAI* 15 (1912), 37-40, 55-56.
[2124] L. Vandeput, The Re-Use of Hadrianic Architecture Elements in Basilica E1 at Sagalassos, in Sagalassos, I, 93-108.
[2125] Ioseliani, *Ἐφημ. Ἑλλ.* 191-192.
[2126] L. Di Segni, Hesvesh Hesbeq: The Inscriptions, in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 365-387 (ninth century).

lustral sprinkler, or a capital with busts of rams.[2127] The jambs of the central door of the Petra Church display figures of pagan gods.[2128] These and many other objects with pagan decoration were used for their ornamental value. Antiquity was present everywhere, it was enduring, but was now depaganized and adapted to the Christian environment.

Statues

Like temples, some pagan statues were targeted by the Church because they were regarded as the embodiment of paganism, while others were preserved in public and private spheres, appreciated as objects of art. Cult statues were subject to violent destruction by imperial officers and Christians, depending upon local circumstances, and the attitudes of individual bishops. In fact, imperial legislation forbade only the worship of cult statues and the offering of sacrifices. However, it decreed that they be preserved because of their artistic value. Indeed inscriptions from Italy and North Africa record that cult statues were removed by imperial officers from temples to decorate public places and baths.[2129] Pagan statues in a secular environment often became the target of Christians, because, in addition to being considered a threat to the new religion, they were regarded as offensive to Christian morality. For example, the statues in the East Bath at Scythopolis were decapitated or defaced at the end of the fifth or early in the sixth century. Before the building was restored in 515/6, they were removed, smashed, and buried, while others were burnt for lime.[2130] In Corinth, in the second half of the sixth century or early in the seventh, fragments of statues were thrown together in drains, in what appears to have been a ritual, since some have been purified with crosses.[2131] The gymnasium of Salamis-Constantia in Cyprus displays a well-known example of such treatment of statues. Damaged by the earthquakes of 332 and 342, it was abandoned and only the baths of the gymnasium were restored by Christians in the fifth century and were adorned with many pagan statues from its previous period of use (Figure 51). On one of the columns in the south stoa, a Christian inscription included a supplication to the Virgin to protect the *komes* Constantine, son of the *hypatos*, who was probably responsible for the restoration. Some of the naked parts of the statues were mutilated, to conform to Christian morality. Some, however, were placed on new bases, while others were thrown in drains or built into walls.[2132] Since most of them were found without heads, one may wonder whether the final phase of destruction was caused by Christians, sometimes in the sixth century, when Christianity was firmly established and there was an intolerance of ancient culture, as was the case with the statues of the baths of Scythopolis. A group of statues of the Ptolemaic period decorated an *exedra* at the Serapeum of Memphis depicting Homer surrounded by ten poets and philosophers. They were knocked off their bases, probably in the course of the confrontations between pagans and Christians. Later they were again set up on their bases.[2133] The statues of the gods Heracles and Hermes, protectors of the gymnasium of Messene, were smashed by the Christians.[2134] The attacks by civil officers and bishops in the reign of Theodosius whose anti-pagan

[2127] Dyggve, *Salonitan Christianity*, 9-10; *AD* 50 (1995), Chr. B1, 111; *BCH* 118 (1994), 823.

[2128] Piccna, Late-antique Petra, 219.

[2129] C. Lepelley, Le musée des statues divines. La volonté de sauvegarder le patrimoine artistique païen à l'époque théodosienne, *Cahiers* 42 (1994), 5-15.

[2130] Tsafrir and Foerster, Urbanism, 128-130. On the destruction of pagan statues in Scythopolis see Y. Tsafrir, The Christianization of Bet Shean (Scythopolis) and its Social-Cultural Influence on the City, in Brandt and Severin, *Stadt*, 283-284.

[2131] Rothman, *Corinth*, 105-125, esp. 119-125.

[2132] A. H. S. Megaw, Archaeology in Cyprus, *JHS* 76 (1956), suppl., 44; 77 (1957), 28; Karageorghis, *Sculptures* I, 4.

[2133] J.-Ph. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Serapieion de Memphis* (Paris 1955), 6-7.

[2134] P. Themelis, Μεσσήνη, *ΕΑΕ* 1995 (1996), 35; *BCH* 120 (1996), 1159.

FIG. 51. Statues in the east stoa of the palaestra of the bath-gymnasium of Salamis-Constantia in Cyprus. Some of the statues decorating the Roman palaestra were left in situ by the Christians. The photograph shows the statues displayed around the swimming pool at the north end of the palaestra's east stoa.

legislation gave the signal for waves of destruction are notorious.[2135] Archaeology testifies to the destruction of cult statues by the agents of Maternus Cynegius, Prefect of the Orient, in 385/6, following the anti-pagan measures of Theodosius. In Palmyra, in a small temple of Allat-Athena, the cult statue of the goddess and the altar were found inside the temple, destroyed by imperial agents. The cult statue had been struck at the back of the head and knocked down, the nose, cheeks and mouth were also crushed, the neck was broken, whilst the lower part of the legs, the shoulders and arms were heavily damaged.[2136] Major ecclesiastical events, such as Church councils, were also the occasion for massive propagandistic destruction of statues.[2137] Burying cult statues in the foundations of churches and incorporating them into their walls symbolically declared the victory of the new religion over paganism. Some temples were completely destroyed by the Christians, so that no statues were recovered in the excavations.[2138]

In the *Life* of Severus by Zachariah Scholasticus, we find a detailed description of the discovery and destruction of cult statues during the reign of Zeno and a description of the atmosphere in which

[2135] Saradi-Mendelovici, Christian Attitudes, 47-50.

[2136] B. Gąsiowska, Maternus Cynegius, Praefectus Praetorio Orientis and the Destruction of the Allat Temple in Palmyra, *Archaeologia* (Poland) 33 (1982), 107-125, esp. 114-117.

[2137] For example, at Serdica near the east section of the city's wall a temple was destroyed down to its foundations and many statues and votive reliefs were broken into small pieces. The destruction apparently took place before the Council of Serdica. M. Stanceva, *Serdica aux confins de deux époques (IVe-VIe siècle)*, *Académie bulgare des sciences. Institut d'Histoire* (Sofia), *Études historiques* 8 (1978), 111-112.

[2138] For example, the temple of Aphrodite at Argos (G. Daux, *BCH* 93 (1969), 1009, 1012), or the temple of Helios at Baalbek (F. Ragette, *Baalbek*, London 1980, 71), which according to the tradition was consumed by fire thrown by God.

such events took place.[2139] When it became obvious that Christianity had prevailed, the cult statues from the temple of Isis at Memphis were transported into a house at Menouthis and hidden behind a double wall. The Christians found evidence that sacrifice had been performed there and threw the wooden statues into fire. The remaining statues of bronze and marble, and any with artistic value were recorded in a list, which was sent to Patriarch Peter in Alexandria. The statues were temporarily stored in one of the rooms of the local church. Following the orders of the Patriarch, the house where the statues had been found was demolished. In Alexandria, at the celebration of Easter, the Patriarch read to his flock the list of the statues found at Menouthis, inciting anger in the Christians who gathered up all of the statues found in the baths and houses and threw them into a fire. The statues from Menouthis were transported to Alexandria on twenty camels and brought into the centre of the city. There, at the invitation of the Patriarch, a public interrogation of the pagan priest was held in front of the Tycheion in the presence of the Prefect of Egypt and the city's notables. The Christian mob mocked the cult statues, breaking their feet and hands, and consigning them to the fire. A few meters south of the Via Canopica excavations have revealed a group of cult objects, religious inscriptions, idols probably of Isis and Serapis which have been heavily damaged by fire and which may have been the remains of this destruction.[2140] From Egypt we also have inscriptions commemorating the destruction of statues.[2141] Mutilated and defaced statues are found everywhere, giving evidence of a practice common in all parts of the empire. In Aphrodisias, after the conversion of the temple of Aphrodite into a church, pagan statues were defaced and pagan names erased. Only the images directly related to pagan practice were destroyed. Aphrodite from the western pediment of the Tetrapylon and scenes of sacrifice in the Sebasteion suffered destruction, but mythological scenes, including scenes of Erotes were not targeted.[2142]

In the sixth century pagan idols were hung in the streets of Antioch, intended to be objects of ridicule as part of the efforts by the governor to suppress paganism in the city.[2143] St. Abramius destroyed pagan idols in a pagan village near Lampsacus on the Hellespont after building a church there.[2144] Images of pagan gods are rarely mentioned in the sixth century in a polemical spirit. In the reign of Justinian, during the persecution of pagans in Heliopolis, Edessa and Antioch, the governor and procurator of Edessa, Anatolius, was caught in his house with an icon, one side of which showed Apollo and the other, Christ, an object designed to conceal the paganism of the owner.[2145] Mosaics depicting pagan themes were still kept in rich houses, until the function of the houses was so radically altered, that such mosaics could no longer be tolerated. We are told that in a Christian house in Amaseia a wall mosaic depicting Aphrodite was demolished only when the owner decided to convert the house into a monastery.[2146] By the seventh century, stories of the destruction of pagan statues are presented as belonging to a remote past and they no longer concern people. One example will serve to illustrate this. St. Spyridon was depicted destroying a pagan statue in Alexandria in a fresco situated above the central door of his church at Trimithous, where the relics of the saint lay. The event, however, had eventually been forgotten by the middle of the seventh century, when Theodore of Paphos came to write the *Life* of Spyridon and included the episode of the destruction of the statue, which he had found in a book. Only when Theodore's *Life* was read in church on the festival of St. Spyridon, was the connection made between the episode retailed in Theodore's *Life* and the event depicted in the fresco.[2147]

Learned members of the upper class appreciated the artistic value of the statues and tried to preserve them in collections, especially from the reign of Theodosius on, when his measures against paganism provoked waves of destruction. Early in the fifth century, the private collection in the palace of Lausus included famous works of art such as the chryselephantine statue of Zeus from Olympia by Pheidias, the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, the Samian Hera of Lysippus, Eros, Cronos (or Kairos) and Boupalos.[2148] According to the *Life* of St. Melania the Younger, when in 404 she and her husband Valerius Pinianus decided to devote themselves to ascetic life, they donated their statues to the empress Serena, wife of emperor Honorius.[2149] The views of collectors toward classical art are expressed in an epigram by Palladas on the collection of ancient statues by Marine, daughter of the emperor Arcadius. Such initiatives Christianized the statues and thus saved them from being melted for the bronze by the Christians. The collection had apparently survived into the middle Byzantine period and it was part of the decoration of the bath restored by Leo VI.[2150] The collection N statues in the baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople, which were destroyed in a fire in 532, included about eighty pieces.[2151] Rich peristyle houses at the end of the fourth century and in the early fifth contained important collections of statues. A villa in Antioch, built at that time and destroyed during the Persian invasion in 540 or by the Arabs in 637, contained imperial portraits, copies of statues of gods, heroes and other mythological subjects. The House of Menander at Daphne near Antioch, destroyed in the late fifth or early sixth century, contained another collection of small statues.[2152] Another example is the so-called Theodosian Palace or House of Parthenius in Stobi, also built in the second half of the fourth century or in the early fifth.[2153] For intellectuals and the remaining pagans, ancient statues, in addition to possessing artistic value, were also profoundly symbolic in cultural and religious terms. According to the *Life* of Proclus by Marinus, when it was decided that the Parthenon be converted into a church, the goddess Athena appeared to him in his dreams, and asked him to take her statue to his house.[2154] When House C on the Areopagus in Athens was abandoned, probably during Justinian's measures against the pagans and the closing of the Academy, statues were carefully deposited in a well and sealed, the purpose of the owners probably being to retrieve them upon their return. In a house in a northern district of Athens, the famous copy of Athena Varvakeios was also found, concealed with two other pieces of sculpture.[2155]

[2139] *Vita Severi*, *PO* 2/1 (1907), 27-35.

[2140] M. Rodziewicz, Remains of a Chryselephantine Statue in Alexandria, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 44 (1991), 119-130.

[2141] J. Jarry, Inscriptions commémoratives de destruction d'idoles à Akoris, *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 34 (1995), 29-31.

[2142] Ratté, New research, 133. On the earlier Roman tradition of mutilation and destruction of statues see P. Stewart, The Destruction of Statues in Late Antiquity, in Miles, *Constructing Identities*, 159-189.

[2143] *Vita S. Symeonis Stylitae Iun.*, c. 161.24-25 (p. 144).

[2144] *AASS* Martii XVI, vol. II, 933 (c. 8).

[2145] John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.29 (p. 214).

[2146] *Vita S. Euteychii*, p. 48 (1465-1476).

[2147] P. Van den Ven, *La légende de S. Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte* (Louvain 1953), c. 20 (pp. 81-91) and p. 81*, 87*.

[2148] C. Mango, M. Vickers and E. D. Francis, The Palace of Lausus at Constantinople and its Collection of Ancient Statues, *Journal of the History of Collections* 4/1 (1992), 89-98.

[2149] *Vita S. Melaniae Iun.*, c. 14 (p. 156).

[2150] *Anthologia Graeca* IX.528. See C. M. Bowra, Palladas and the Converted Olympians, *BZ* 53 (1960), 1-7; C. Mango, The Palace of Marina, the Poet Palladas and the Bath of Leo VI, in *Euphrosynon*, 321-331.

[2151] See supra p. 326 and n. 1843.

[2152] D. M. Brinkerhoff, *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch* (New York 1970); *Antioch* III, 119-120.

[2153] Wiseman, Stobi, 45-46; Mikulčik, Stobi, 175. For Ephesus see C. Lang-Auinger (ed.), *Hanghaus 1 in Ephesos. Funde und Ausstattung* (Vienna 2003); *Ephesos* VIII/4, 153 ff.

[2154] *V. Procli*, c. 30, ll. 736-742 (pp. 86-87): ὁπηνίκα δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ θεὸς ἐδήλουον, ἡνίκα τὸ ἄγαλμα αὐτῆς τὸ ἐν Παρθενῶνι τῶν ἱδρυμένων ἐκεῖ πάν καὶ τὸ ἀνάνγκα κινούνταν μετεφέρετο. Ἑβδόμαι γὰρ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ἔνεφ φοσεῖν πωφ' αὐτὸν εἰσεγμαον τις ᾠνγη καὶ ἀκαγγέλων ὅς χρὴ τάχιστα τὴν οἰκίαν προσαφικνεῖζεν· ἡ γὰρ κυρία Ἀθηνοῦς» ἔφη «ἐπιφοῖ σοι ἀπόνειν ἐθέλει». N. Papachatzis, Ἡ Ἀθηναϊκὴ Πολιάς Ἀθήνα καὶ οἱ κατοικοὶ περιπέτειές της μέ τὴν ἐπώνυμή της πόλη, *AD* 47-48 (1992-93), 27.

[2155] Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, 41, 87-88; L. Jones Roccos, Athena from a House on the Areopagus, *Hesperia* 60 (1991), 397-410; K. Lange, Die Athena Parthenos, *MDAIAA* 5 (1880), 370-372; A. Karivieri, The 'House of Proclus' on the Southern

Statues were retrieved and placed as ornaments in public buildings and plazas. In Athens, the statues of the Giants were removed in the fifth century from the Odeum of Agrippa and placed on the north façade of the governor's palace. Several architectural parts of the palace also imitated earlier buildings of the Athenian agora.[2156] In the sixth century, two statues were removed from their original location and transported to decorate the two corners of a plaza in Caesarea Maritima. The one of porphyry, mutilated, probably depicted Hadrian and may have been taken from the Hadrianeum. The other one, of white marble, was cut in half for transportation. In spite of their condition, they were still considered of sufficient ornamental value to be displayed in public. A statue of Tyche raising the bust of the emperor on her right hand, perhaps from the city's Tycheion, was set up in the sixth century on the west side of a peristyle court.[2157] Justinian ordered Narses to demolish the temples at Philae and send the statues to Constantinople.[2158] Later two horses from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus were transported to the capital.[2159] When Justinian removed the four hundred and twenty-seven statues, of which only eight were Christian, collected by Constantine the Great on the site of St. Sophia, he did not dispose of them. According to the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* he transferred them to other places of Constantinople.[2160] Justinian also constructed a colonnaded court in the Baths of Arcadius in Constantinople and adorned it with ancient statues.[2161]

The opposition between pagan and Christian on the matter of ancient monuments is not, however, reflected in the literature of the sixth century. The intellectuals all shared the same cultural tradition, but each one of them responded to the ancient monuments in his own style and according to his personal understanding. Procopius of Gaza describes a set of paintings in a public building at Gaza, including a representation of the myths of Phaedra and Hippolytus, Ariadne and Theseus, Aphrodite and scenes from the Iliad. He also wrote a poetic *ekphrasis* of a mechanical clock at Gaza with animated mythological figures, which included Heracles performing his twelve labours, the sun moving around on a circle, Pan and Diomedes playing the trumpet. John of Gaza in a poetic *ekphrasis* described a painting in the winter baths of Gaza.[2162] In the *Wars* of Procopius, the ancient monuments are mentioned and admired, for they represent a glorious, powerful, past. This is expressed in the words of Belisarius, in his efforts to save the monuments of Rome from destruction by the Goths.[2163] However, neither hesitation nor remorse appears in the lines of the passage relating the destruction of statues in Rome for the purpose of defence. The Byzantines broke the marble statues of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, of wonderful workmanship (ἀγάλματα . . . θεαμάτων οἷα), and hurled them against the Goths ascending the wall.[2164] In Procopius'

Slope of the Acropolis: A Contribution, in Castrén, *Post-Herulian Athens*, 137-138. On Byzantine collections of art objects see M. Mundell-Mango, "Art Collecting" in Byzantium, *Études Balkaniques, Cahiers Pierre Belon* 2 (1995), 137-160.

[2156] See supra, p. 257.

[2157] See supra, pp. 269-270; R. Gersht, The Tyche of Caesarea Maritima, *PEQ* 116 (1984), 110-114; L. E. Toombs, The Stratigraphy of Caesarea Maritima, in R. Moorey and P. Parr (eds.), *Archaeology in the Levant. Essays for Kathleen Kenyon* (Warminster, England 1978), 225-227; Holum, The Christianizing, 158-159 and pl. 63.

[2158] Procopius, *De Bello Persico* I.19.37; see Saradi-Mendelovici, Christian Attitudes, 51.

[2159] *Patria* II, c. 28 (pp. 165-166).

[2160] *Parastaseis*, c. 11 (pp. 70-72).

[2161] See supra, pp. 270-271. On the decoration of the capital with antique statuary at the time of Justinian see Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 121-136.

[2162] See supra, p. 232. H. Diels, Über die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza mit einem Anhang enthaltend Text und Übersetzung der "Ἔκφρασις ὡρολογίου des Prokopios von Gaza, *Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917. Philos.-hist. Klasse*, 7 (Berlin 1917). On the painting in the baths see supra, p. 330.

[2163] See supra, pp. 86-87.

[2164] Procopius, *De Bello Gothico* V.22.23 (a. 537). During the siege of Caesarea Maritima by the Arabs in 633/34-640/41 the inhabitants piled up statues to block the south gate of the city: Patrich, Urban Space, 80.

historiography, the ancient monuments also played a symbolic role: most of them were considered worthy of mention because they were connected with the Trojan war, and provided a historical justification of Justinian's reconquest of Italy.[2165] The statues are also reinvented and invested with mystery. Procopius mentions some statues, works of Greek sculptors, adorning the Roman Forum of Peace, because they were connected with prophecies about future events:

> This Roman said that once, during the time when Atalaric the grandson of Theoderic ruled Italy, a herd of cattle came into Rome in the late evening from the country through the forum which the Romans call the Forum of Peace; for in that place has been situated from ancient times the temple of Peace, which was struck by lightning. And there is a certain ancient fountain before this forum, and a bronze bull stands by it, the work, I think, of Pheidias the Athenian or of Lysippus. For there are many statues in this quarter which are the works of these two men. Here, for example, is another statue, which is certainly the work of Pheidias, for the inscription on the statue says this. There too is the calf of Myron. For the ancient Romans took great pains to make all the finest things of Greece adornments of Rome. And he said that one of the cattle then passing by – a steer – left the herd and mounting this fountain stood over the brazen bull. And by some chance a certain man of Tuscan birth was passing by, one who appeared to be a very rustic fellow, and he understood the scene which was being enacted and said (for the Tuscans even down to my day are gifted with prophecy) that one day a eunuch would undo the ruler of Rome. And then indeed that Tuscan and the words he uttered earned only laughter. For before actual experience comes men are ever wont to mock at prophecies, whilst proof does not upset them, because the events have not come about and the tale of them is not credible, but seems akin to some ridiculous myth. But now all men, yielding to the arguments of actual events, marvel at this sign.[2166]

It is this function, the mystic, prophetic power of the ancient monuments that dominates the literary works of the sixth century. Our authors are attracted by the antiquity of the monuments and by their supernatural power to predict the future. The *Patria* that survive from the *Chronicle* of Hesychius focus on the monuments of the capital and the legends woven around them. John of Antioch in his *Archaeology* includes references to ancient monuments and a Christian reinterpretation of some myths and etymologies. Statues occupy a prominent position in Malalas' *Chronicle*. They constituted material for the praises of an emperor and were intimately connected with urban tradition. They commemorated historical events and were credited with prophylactic and prophetic power, but we rarely get a clear statement of appreciation of the ancient statues in Malalas' *Chronicle*. When their function was ornamental, they are considered worthy of viewing (καὶ αὐτὰ εἶον τῶν θεαμάτων) and their loss is recorded with regret. This is the case regarding the pillage of statues in the palace of Rome by the Vandals.[2167] But when they are connected with pagan worship, Christian religious prejudices prevail. This is the underlying message of Malalas in his account of the destruction of pagan idols and books during the Justinianic persecution.[2168] In connection with the monetary reform of John of Paphlagonia, statues on Constantinople's

[2165] See supra, p. 87.

[2166] Procopius, *De Bello Gothico* VIII.21.11-18.

[2167] Malalas, 289.43-44, 288.11-12.

[2168] Ibid., 424.10-11 (καὶ εἰκόνες τῶν μισηθέν θεῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγάλματα); Michael the Syrian IX.33.

central avenue, considered to be extremely beautiful (ὡς κάλλιστεύοντα) and collected by Constantine to decorate (εἰς κόσμησιν) the capital, were melted down. From the metal a new enormous new statue of Theodosius was made and was set up on a column in the Forum of Taurus.[2169] Malalas often insists that ancient monuments still existed in his day, although his expression "to the present day" may simply echo references from earlier sources.[2170]

Numerous epigrams from the Cycle of Agathias praise pagan statues, a theme known from earlier literature, and the audience would have recognized the persistence of this cultural tradition. These epigrams create the impression of concrete realities. They convey powerfully the desire on the part of intellectuals to turn away from a radically changing world to an idealized classical past, in reaction to Justinian's measures against paganism and classical *paideia*. By contrast, the historiographical work of Agathias, from which themes symbolic or fictional in nature are absent, reverses the image of the ancient statues and gives the historical reality. Agathias mentions the statue of Chaeremon located on the outskirts of Tralleis, who according to the tradition went to Rome and asked Augustus to restore and repopulate the city, which had been devastated in an earthquake. Agathias saw, however, only the base of the statue, which was of great antiquity, while the statue itself was no longer there. He also read the dedicatory inscription.[2171]

Pagan monuments and superstition

The most pronounced interest in ancient statues is expressed in tales regarding their supernatural powers. Superstitious beliefs associated with statues become increasingly important in the literary sources of the sixth century. The belief that statues were inhabited by demons and so possessed supernatural power was current in ancient Greece and Rome. Given that such beliefs are attested in all social milieus, including educated circles, their existence in Byzantine times does not imply a detachment from, and misunderstanding of, ancient culture.[2172] In the *Life* of Severus, written by Zachariah Scholasticus, both pagans and Christians of Menouthis fear the power of the pagan gods, whose cult statues have been discovered by Christians. The local priest pronounces a prayer alluding to the words of *Cor.* I.x.19 and encourages the Christians to guard the idols at night without fear.[2173] In the *Life* of the Patriarch Eutychius a demon, residing in the mosaic image of Aphrodite at a private residence in Amaseia, bits the hand of the mosaicist who demolished it.[2174] Later the Patriarch of Jerusalem Sophronius refers to the statue in the pagan temple of Menouthis, which had been animated by demons, before it was purified by means of the erection of a church.[2175] In another passage, however, evoking the Psalms, Sophronius attempts to deprive these beliefs of their power by asserting that idols do not have senses.[2176]

[2169] Malalas, 328.86-88.

[2170] Jeffreys, Malalas' sources, 209-201, 206-207; Moffatt, Buildings, 98-101.

[2171] Agathias II.17.6-8.

[2172] For the views that these superstitious beliefs suggest a detachment from the classical tradition see C. Mango, Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder, *DOP* 17 (1963), 55-75; for a different approach see Saradi-Mendelovici, Christian Attitudes, 56-58; L. James, Pray not to Fall into Temptation and Be on your Guard: Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople, *Gesta* 35 (1996), 12-20; Saradi, Perceptions, 57-66.

[2173] *Vita Severi*, *PO* 2.1 (1907), 31.

[2174] *Vita S. Eutychii*, pp. 48-49 (1474-1479).

[2175] Sophronius, *De SS. Cyro et Johanne*, *PG* 87/3, 3688D, 3693C; also Severus, *Hom.* 108, *PO* 25 (1943), 673: animated statues of idols have been brought down by Christ.

[2176] *Miracula SS. Cyri et Iohannis*, *mir.* 32.6 (p. 310).

The prophetic power of statues in particular becomes more prominent in a wide variety of texts in the sixth century. It is clear that there is a pronounced need to create etiological myths and urban *mirabilia* in order to explain contemporary events and future catastrophes. The collapse of a statue was regarded as an omen, a sign of forthcoming misfortunes. Procopius of Gaza in his monody on St. Sophia includes the collapse of statues among various calamities,[2177] whilst Malalas also considered collapsing statues a sign of imminent misfortune.[2178] We have already mentioned how Procopius refers to a prophecy connected with the statue of Myron's brazen bull in Rome when a herd of cattle went into the Forum of Peace.[2179] In the *Parastaseis* and the *Patria* the statues of Constantinople are animated and capable of foretelling future catastrophes. In the time of Anastasius, the statue of the reclining Heracles by Lysippus in the hippodrome of Constantinople was thought to predict future disasters.[2180] A statue of Aphrodite at the Zeugma in Constantinople had the power to reveal maidens who had lost their virginity and adulterous women. The emperor Maurice ordered the bronze statue of an ox to be thrown into the harbour of Neorion, because according to a tradition it bellowed once a year and disasters subsequently occurred on the same day. Maurice also ordered the destruction of the statue of the Tyche of Constantinople, Anthousa, brought to the capital from Rome by Constantine the Great and various other statues by the Exakionion.[2181] John Lydus insists that weeping and sweating statues forecast civil wars.[2182] It is important to note that belief in the prophetic power of statues also applied to Christian statues. Joshua the Stylite relates that during a pagan festival at Edessa in 495/6, the cross belonging to the statue of Constantine fell, receded into the ground about a cubit, and came back upon its position only on Sunday.[2183] According to John of Ephesus, Justin II ordered that two bronze statues of himself and of the empress Sophia be set up. They were later overturned by a strong storm and were found with their heads in the ground, clearly a sign of future misfortune.[2184] Theophylact Simocatta relates that the most prominent of the statues of the Tycheion of Alexandria moved at night and predicted to a passing *kalligraphos* the execution of Maurice by Phocas. The execution was confirmed two days later (a. 602).[2185]

Finally, belief in the protective power of statues over cities remained strong in spite of the Christianization of the empire. The *telesmata histamena* of Apollonius of Tyana were maintained as talismans by the cities and Malalas gives a lengthy account of them, their prophylactic power and the tales woven around them. They had become part of the urban traditions. Anastasius Sinaites informs us that "the *telesmata histamena* of the magician Apollonius were still practiced, some for their power of fending off animals and birds that could do harm, others for diverting the stream of rivers flowing irregularly, while others were regarded as capable of averting destruction (*apotropaia*) and harm to men".[2186] In the 740s, Leontius of Neapolis, biographer of St. John the Almsgiver, states that almost up to his time, the inhabitants of Tyana took pride in Apollonius.[2187] Stories of ancient statues, unfolding in narratives in

[2177] Procopius of Gaza, Μονῳδία εἰς τὴν ὀγίαν Σοφίαν πεποιήκειν ἀπὸ σεισμῶν, *PG* 87/3, 2840A.

[2178] Malalas, 416.18-20, 419.59. See Moffatt, Buildings, 100.

[2179] See supra, p. 377.

[2180] *Parastaseis*, c. 65 (p. 146); *Patria* II, c. 83 (pp. 193-194).

[2181] *Patria* II, c. 65 (pp. 185-187); II, c. 88 (p. 196); II, c. 54 (pp. 180-181); III, c. 131 (p. 257).

[2182] John Lydus, *De ostentis*, proem, 8 (p. 16 ll. 14-16).

[2183] Joshua the Stylite, c. 27 (p. 18-19).

[2184] John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.24 (pp. 204-205).

[2185] Theophylact Simocatta VIII.13.7-15.

[2186] Anastasius Sinaitus, *PG* 89, 525D; see also George Monachos, ed. de Boor II, pp. 444-446; Dagron, Constantinople, 105-106.

[2187] *Vita S. Iohannis Eleemosyn.*, c. 56.1-3 (p. 403): Εἰ γὰρ Τυάνων οἱ πάροικοι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀγαθὸν ἐνεβριθοντοῦν πυρτοῦσιν διὰ τὸν ἄμοιχλέστερ αὐτῶν Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ἀνεβρέπαντον Τυανέα, ἐγκωμιάζοντες ἅτι τοῖς ἀποκλίνοις οὐκοῦ θεωτέρωσιν.

the Christian literature were decreasingly pointing to their artistic value and cultural message. The statues' primary function was becoming to reveal the unknown. Because this practical use of statues as prophetic symbols strengthened superstitious beliefs, it also diminished their significance as symbols of the ancient culture.

Byzantine texts insist on symbolic interpretations of pagan figures, gods and heroes, in sculpture, mosaics and paintings. Allegorical interpretation of the characteristics of ancient statues was an ancient tradition. Porphyry, the Neoplatonic philosopher of the third century, wrote a treatise on this theme (*Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων*). It was believed that the invisible power of the gods was marked on their images, and some wise persons could read them, as if the statues were books. Such allegorical interpretations provided rationalization of ancient myths. Artificial etymological interpretations of myths combined with philosophical concepts and vocabulary, known already in antiquity, were very popular in early Byzantine literature.[2188] John Lydus refers to such interpretations,[2189] and John of Antioch wrote the *Ἀγραμμάτου Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως ἔρμηνεια καὶ διασάφησις τῶν μυθευομένων* in which he offers Christian interpretations of various myths. Names of cities are also explained on etymological grounds. The name of Ionnium was believed to have derived from an image (*εἰκών*) of the Gorgon Medusa set up there by Perseus.[2190]

Ancient monuments, dismantled and recycled, preserved or assigned a new use, were present in one or another form in both the urban landscape and private sphere. Because they were expressions of the culture of a bygone age, they had become detached from the life of the common people. They satisfied only the antiquarian taste of a learned élite, for whom they were permanent reminders of ancient glory. As object of superstitious beliefs and supposedly endowed with the prophetic power to reveal the future, they acquired a utilitarian function in people's life. Interest in antiquities was expanding, as was interest in the reading and copying of inscriptions. The epigrams in the hippodrome of Constantinople were copied in the sixth century.[2191] Procopius mentions several inscriptions, and Malalas records twenty-one of them, the majority referring to Antioch. It seems, however, that most, if not all of them, were copied from literary sources and not directly from monuments.[2192] Agathias also might have copied an inscription from Tralleis from the *Patria Tralleon*.[2193]

The Christianization of pagan monuments

The destruction and abandonment of the pagan monuments marks a radical break with the ancient past. In the cities the ancient monuments survived, albeit now broken down into spolia everywhere or as beautiful façades of empty buildings or as parts of new Christian or military structures. Around them were woven superstitious tales which were universally believed. It is true that such attitudes were inher-

[2188] On the allegorical interpretation of myths see P. Lévêque, *Aurea catena Homeri. Une étude sur l'allégorie grecque* (Paris 1959). On the statues' symbolism see V. Fazio, La giustificazione delle immagini religiose dalla tarda antichità al Cristianesimo, I: *La tarda antichità (con un Appendice sull'Iconoclasmo bizantino)* (Naples 1977), 195 ff. Allegorical interpretations based on etymology are found in the *Ὑπομνήματα προβλήματος* of Heraclitus in the first century A.D.: F. Buffière, *Héraclite. Allégories d'Homère* (Paris 1962). See also Liebeschuetz, Pagan Mythology; Saradi, Perceptions, 49-50.

[2189] John Lydus, *De mensibus* IV.1, 51, 76 (pp. 63-64, 107, 129).

[2190] Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* XIII.517; Malalas, 26.68-70. See also Sartre, La construction, 94-97.

[2191] Cameron, *Porphyrius*, 109-116.

[2192] R. E. G. Downey, References to Inscriptions in the Chronicle of Malalas, *TAPhA* 66 (1935), 55-72; Jeffreys, Malalas' sources, 200-201.

[2193] Dagron, *Constantinople*, 151 n. 94.

ited from pagan antiquity, but in the early Byzantine period such superstitions blossomed under the influence of Neoplatonic philosophy. At the same time antiquity, in the shape of its monuments, was integrated into the urban space by means of the gradual Christianizing of the pagan stones, myths and symbols. The first and most obvious manifestation of this process is the marking of the sign of the cross on statues, stones, inscriptions and temples. Such examples are found everywhere in all the cities of the empire. With the sign of the cross, pagan monuments were purified and sanctified, their demons neutralized and their malevolent powers defeated. A constitution of the year 435 promulgated by Theodosius II that deals with the destruction of temples requires that the sign of the cross be used for their purification, thus making them safe for Christians and incorporating them into the Christian environment.[2194]

Another aspect of the process of Christianization of the ancient past was the depaganization of pagan myths and symbols and their Christian reinterpretation. Scenes of pagan mythology and pagan symbols continue to appear well into the sixth century and beyond on sculpture, and some examples from different cities were given above. We have also mentioned that in the private sphere too, pagan sculpture long remained an important element of decoration. Moreover, mosaics with pagan mythological scenes were reinterpreted to bear a philosophical or Christian allegorization or were used by pagans to subvert Christian teaching or to project the qualities of their wealthy owners.[2195] One example will illustrate this tendency. Marinus Scholasticus explains that the representation of Eros garlanded does not depict the son of vulgar Cypris nor did Eros spring from the earth. Rather, he symbolizes love for learning: "But I am he who lights the torch of learning in the pure minds of mortals, and leads the soul up to heaven. From the four Virtues I weave garlands, and carrying these, one of each, I crown myself with the first, the crown of Wisdom".[2196] In the sixth-century manuscript illumination of the Vienna Dioscorides fol. 6v, in the medallion bearing the image of Juliana Anicia, in front of her is shown an Eros holding an open book. An inscription identifies him as πόθος φιλοσοφίας. Other Erotes are engaged in crafts in the border scenes. To the left of the medallion appears the inscription πόθος τῆς σοφίας.[2197] Sometimes on mosaics in houses pagan scenes are combined with Christian symbols. On the mosaic pavement of a house in Madaba, dated to the fifth century, there appears a naked Satyr with a Maenad and a kantharos

[2194] *CTh* XVI.10.25. Ø. Hjort, Augustus Christianus-Livia Christiana: *Sphragis* and Roman Portrait Sculpture, in Rydén and Rosenquist, *Aspects of Late Antiquity*, 99-112; C. A. Marinescu, Transformations: Classical Objects and Their Re-Use during Late Antiquity, in Mathisen and Sivan, *Shifting Frontiers*, 285-298; A. Delivorrias, Interpretatio Christiana: About the Boundaries of the Pagan and Christian Worlds, in *Euphrosynon*, 107-122; R. R. R. Smith, The Statue Monument of Oecumenius: A New Portrait of a Late Antique Governor from Aphrodisias, *JRS* 92 (2002), 134-156, esp. 150 ff.: Christian inscriptions were inscribed on the top of the heads of statues, therefore invisible from the ground.

[2195] Apart from the references on pagan sculpture cited above pp. 377-380, see also J. Elsner, Art and Architecture, 337-425, in Av. Cameron and P. Garnsey, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, XIII, *The Late Empire, A.D. 337-425* (Cambridge 1998), 742-761; K. Weitzmann, The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and their Impact on Christian Iconography, *DOP* 14 (1960), 45-68; J. Huskinson, Some Pagan Mythological Figures and their Significance in Early Christian Art, *PBSR* 42 (1974), 68-97. Sometimes Christian themes were reversed by the pagans and used to project pagan ideas: Sodini, Social Structures, 37-38; W. A. Daszewski, Le Mystérieux message des mosaïques de Paphos, *Le Monde de la Bible* 112 (1998), 30-35; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty, Julien et Apamée, *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 1 (1974), 267-278; idem, Un programme philosophique sous la cathédrale d'Apamée: L'ensemble néo-platonicien de l'empereur Julien, in *Texte et image. Actes du Colloque int. de Chantilly (13 au 15 octobre 1982)* (Paris 1984), 167-176; J. Balty, Notes d'iconographie dionysiaque: la mosaïque de Sarrîn (Osrhoène), in *Religion, mythologie, iconographie, Rome, mai 1989*, *MEFRA* 103 (1991), 19-33; Liebeschuetz, Pagan Mythology; P. Baumann, Mythological Heroes in the Service of Private Representation: A Case Study on Some Late Antique Mosaics in the Holy Land, in Rutgers, *What Athens*, 69-85; D. Parrish, Dionysos and his Circle in Mosaics of Late Antiquity, in Balmelle et al., *Mélanges d'antiquité tardive*, 75-84.

[2196] *Anthologia Graeca* XVI.201.

[2197] K. Kitzinger, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York 1977), 60, pl. 15.

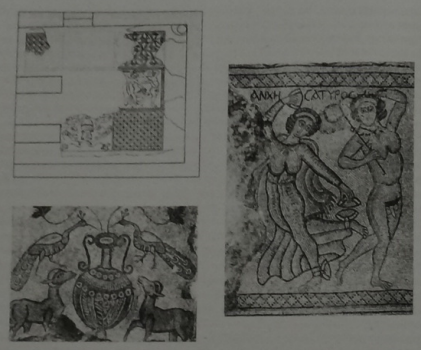


FIG. 52. Mosaic pavement of a house in Madaba (late fifth century), combining pagan and Christian themes: a Satyr and a Maenad, a kantharos with vine branches flanked by peacocks and stags.

with vine branches flanked by peacocks and stags (Figure 52). Of course, the use of classical motifs and iconography in the private sphere displays the claims of the owner to be intimate with upper class culture and so to belong to the urban élite without having, however, real cultural affinities with the classical education and culture. Thus the use of classical iconography may not always indicate real and profound attachment to classical culture.[2198]

Furthermore, ancient objects of art with pagan decoration were preserved for a long time in the private environment. Two examples from the private sphere show how diverse both the pagan objects and their environment were: in *P. Lond.* 1007.5-6 (a. 558) Dionysus and Ariadne decorated a pen-case or pen-holder (καλαμάριον). A group of Dionysus and a Satyr, found in a latrine of the Byzantine shops in Sardis, may have been placed there to be ridiculed,[2199] or may still have been regarded as alluding to the animal forces of nature. Objects of the minor arts decorated with pagan figures were still produced. The carved bones and ivory found in House D at Kôm el-Dikka in Alexandria are adorned

[2198] *Fr.* Baratte, Culture et images dans le domaine privé à la fin de l'antiquité: du rêve à la réalité ?, *AntTard* 9 (2001), 275-283.

[2199] G. M. A. Hanfmann, Excavations at Sardis, 1959, *BASOR* 157 (1960), 34-35; idem, *Sardis*, 192. Also in the latrines of the Gymnasium of Salamis in Cyprus a torso of a Pan was found: Karageorghis, *Sculptures* II, 2.

with pagan images.[2200] Several examples of pottery[2201] and silver objects[2202] are known to have been adorned with pagan motifs, while the majority display Christian symbols. In Athens the production of lamps with Athena Promachos continued well into the early seventh century,[2203] whilst Gorgo-Medusa was still used as an apotropaic symbol side by side with Christian symbols.[2204]

Most striking are pagan images in churches. A few examples have already been mentioned, namely: the jambs of the central door of the Church of Petra decorated with images of pagan gods; the friezes with the sculptures of dancing satyrs and masks in Basilica E1 at Sagalassos; the temple of Zeus Hypsistos in a segment of the mosaic of the Church of St. Stephanus at Umm al-Rasas in Jordan representing the city of Neapolis; the representations of Pan, Triton, and of the river gods Geon, Phison, Euphrates, Tigris and the Castalia on the mosaic of the Justinianic church at Qasr-el-Lebia in Libya.[2205] Other mythological scenes in churches are also known. The calendar of months with the personifications of the twelve months and those of Helios and Selene in the centre in the sixth-century monastery of the Virgin at Scythopolis[2206] and the Centaurs and Amazons on the mosaic floor of the Basilica D in the lower city of Justiniana Prima,[2207] while the representation of the Dioscuri in Basilica A at Nicopolis may have been a Christian reinterpretation.[2208]

One further step was also made in Christianizing the pagan monuments. They were expressions of antiquity, which Christians regarded as part of the divine plan for the salvation of the world. The idea that ancient culture, in particular ancient philosophers, had prepared the world to receive the message of Christianity appeared early on in Christian literature. Ancient wisdom, far from being rejected, was incorporated in the Christian world. This idea is found also expanded to the ancient monuments. Thus Zachariah of Mytilene gives an allegoric reinterpretation of three very large stones joined together in the pagan temple of Helios at Heliopolis. They symbolized the holy Trinity and "the calling of the nations by the preaching of the Gospel tidings". The temple, struck by lightning, collapsed to the ground, but the three stones miraculously continued to remain intact. On the site was built a church dedicated to

[2200] Rodziewicz, Reliefs figurés, 326-330.

[2201] P. M. Watson, Jerash Bowls: Study of a Provincial Group of Byzantine Decorated Fine Ware, *Syria* 66 (1989), 225-261, esp. 245-249. Pagan motifs included Pan and satyr, Achilles and Paris, part of a Tyche, etc. (from the late first quarter of the sixth century until the late seventh century).

[2202] M. Mundell Mango and A. Bennett, *The Sevso Treasure* I (Ann Arbor, MI 1994); J. M. C. Toynbee and K. S. Painter, Silver Picture Plates of Late Antiquity: A.D. 300 to 700, *Archaeologia* 108 (1986), 15-65: silver plates with stamps of the seventh century decorated with mythological and Dionysiac subjects.

[2203] Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, fig. 16 p. II.

[2204] A bronze head of Medusa 5 cm diameter perhaps above the door of a building at Caričin Grad was probably used as apotropaic: Kondić and Popović, *Caričin Grad*, pl. III, 3, 187, 387-388; Gayon and Cizek, L'église B, 1 and fig. 8 (p. 7). From an ancient villa at Lechaion in Corinthia, a slab of a screen dating to the sixth century, now in the Byzantine Museum of Athens, was decorated with Medusa's head on the one side and with a cross and vegetal ornaments on the other: M. Skiadas-Mavroidi, Παράσταση κροκοτιλίων σε βυζαντινή γλυπτή, *DChAE* 13 (1985-1986), 175-180. The Chalke gate was also decorated with gorgoneia from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, Christianized by Justinian with the sign of the cross above them: Mango, *The Brazen House*, 100; Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 125-127.

[2205] See supra, pp. 372, 171, 130, 139.

[2206] Fitzgerald, *Monastery*, 7 and fig. of the frontispiece and pl. VII, VIII.

[2207] Dj. Mano-Zisi, Iskopavanje na Caričin Gradu 1949-1952 Godine (Les fouilles de Caričin Grad en 1949-1952), *Starinar* (Belgrade) n.s. III-IV (1952-1953), 144-153, figs. 39, 40 (pp. 150-151); Ch. Picard, A. Caričin Grad: les mosaïques du nave de la basilique Sud, *Revue archéologique* 47 (Paris 1956), 231-232; Kondić and Popović, *Caričin Grad*, 346; R. E. Kubrik, The Floor Mosaics of Eastern Illyricum. The Northern Regions, *ACAC X* (1980), I, 445-479, esp. 477-478.

[2208] Kitzinger, Mosaics at Nikopolis, 108-122; A. Grabar, *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* (Paris 1968), II, 783-785. See also P. Asemakopoulou-Atmaka, Το πολυεκφραστικό ψηφιδωτό δάπεδο στο Αγιοπαύλειο βασιλικό, *ACAC X* (1980), I, 402-403, 439.

the Virgin Mary.[2209] Malalas mentions the tradition regarding the famous temple at Cyzicus. Built by the Argonauts, it was converted into a church dedicated to the Virgin during the reign of Leo I or Zeno, in accordance with an ancient oracle found inscribed on a large stone on the site.[2210] The Argonauts consulted the oracle of Apollo at Pythias Therma, modern Yalova, and received the following answer: "Do all that leads to virtue and honour. I proclaim only a triune, high-ruling God, whose imperishable Word will be conceived in an innocent girl. He, like a fiery arrow coursing through the midst of the whole world, will make it captive and bring it as a gift to his father. This will be her house and her name will be Mary". The oracle was inscribed on the lintel of the temple and was dedicated to Rhea. According to the Greek *Theosophy*, a similar prophecy was found carved on a stone in Athens by the left side of the temple of Athena. Phoebus Apollo, whom the citizens had consulted, prophesied that the temple would be converted to a Church of the Virgin. Malalas also mentions that in the Capitolium of Rome there was an altar dedicated by Augustus with a messianic inscription. The inscription "This is the altar of the first-born god" contained an oracle by Pythia foretelling the advent of Christ.[2211] Moschus records a tradition according to which in the Tetrapylon of Alexandria Alexander the Great had buried the relics of the prophet Jeremy. For this reason the site of the Tetrapylon was very much respected by Alexandria's inhabitants (πάνυ σεβασμος).[2212] Cosmas Indicopleustes describes at great length a seat (θήρρος) of marble placed by Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios and Arsinoe, in the coastal city of Adoule in Ethiopia, all inscribed with a lengthy inscription recording the exploits of Ptolemaios and the parts of his kingdom. Behind the seat stood a large image, broken at the time of the author, and most of its lower part was lost. The inscription was inscribed on the seat and the image and only a small part was broken, the rest was still intact and perfectly legible. Cosmas was asked by the local ruler to record the inscription for him. On the back of the seat were sculptured the images of Hercules and Hermes, interpreted by another merchant as symbols of power and wealth each. But Cosmas recalled a reference from the *Acts of the Apostles* (XIV.12), and identified Hermes as the symbol of reason (σύμβολον λόγου). As with other ancient monuments, the site of this Hellenistic monument was considered polluted by the locals at the time, since criminals were executed there.[2213]

In the visual world of the sixth-century cities, ancient monuments were present, but decaying, defeated by the age, the attacks of the Christians, and the indifference of the contemporaries for whom their significance was slipping away. The dominant impression conveyed by archaeology is that of a profound break with a past made visible by these monuments. At the same time most of our sources indicate that irrationality had increased and the monuments thus became vehicles of superstition, both feared and needed at the same time, because they could foretell future events. There was also a drive to comprehend the past in Christian terms and to absorb the pagan remains into the dominant ideology of Christianity. Ideological analogies with paganism were found regarding moral issues. The striking effort to appropriate the legacy of the past in the form of its monuments and artistic themes was more likely to endure among the learned upper class, the intellectual climate of which nourished idealization of the past.

[2209] Zachariah of Mytilene, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII.4 (pp. 204-205); T. Wiegand (ed.), *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905* II (Berlin and Leipzig 1923), 129-144.

[2210] H. Erbe, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien* (Hamburg 1941), 167 ff.; Malalas, 54-55.

[2211] Malalas, 38 (transl. Jeffreys, p. 38); 176.

[2212] Moschus, 2972A.

[2213] Cosmas Indicopleustes, 72-76.

CHAPTER 13

CHURCHES IN URBAN SPACE AND LIFE

θέαν γὰρ ὁς οὐ κὰν ἄλλοι χώστωλοι μόνην εἰσηγέσαιν τῇ πόλει περιπαυόμενον. ἐξ ὃι τὸν ὅνωκτόρον κατοικεῖν μετὰ τοῦ κόλλους καὶ ἄφρον δούνηρος συνεκάθησε.[2214]

Churches: the cities' landmark

Construction of churches endowed the topography of the early Byzantine cities with the prestige and authority of the new religion. Roman architectural tradition and new religious practices forged the magnificent Christian monumental complexes. At a time when ancient buildings were abandoned and decaying, Christian religious architecture lent the cities a totally new tone and dominated the urban landscape. The architecture of the early Christian basilicas and their appendages, baptisteries, chapels, bishops' palaces and ecclesiastical baths, houses for the clergy, hostels, hospitals and houses for the poor, and related ecclesiastical institutions, remained for long the major focus of archaeological investigation of this period.[2215]

Church architecture focused on the interior space where the act of worship took place. In ecclesiastical complexes, the propylaea and atria surrounded by porticoes were designed to lead the worshippers to the church nave. Symbolically, church architecture and decoration, which favours ornament, promoted the concept of the sublime, in contrast to the classical concept of beauty and order. Colourful columns, capitals and marble revetments, arches, domes and semi domes, wall paintings and sparkling mosaics created a theocratic dimension and elevated the soul. Procopius of Caesarea describes the religious experience that Christians felt upon entering the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. The church revealed a metaphysical dimension of the world; Christians were uplifted and elevated to a spiritual sphere: "And whenever anyone enters this church to pray, he understands at once that it is not by any human power or skill, but by the influence of God, that this work has been so finely turned. And so his mind is lifted up toward God and exalted, feeling that He cannot be far away, but must especially love to dwell in this place which He has chosen".[2216]

[2214] Choricius, *Or.* L30 (p. 10.16-19).

[2215] See G. Bovini, *Gli studi di archeologia cristiana dalle origini alla metà del secolo XIX* (Bologna 1968); F. W. Deichmann, *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie* (Darmstadt 1983).

[2216] Procopius, *De aedificiis* I.1.61 (transl. Dewing).

Several *enkomia* of churches are known from the sixth century. Three were written for St. Sophia, one by Paul Silentiarius, another by Procopius of Gaza, and a description by Procopius of Caesarea in his *Buildings*. Two *enkomia* of the churches of Saints Sergius and Stephanus at Gaza were incorporated in Choricius' Orations for bishop Marcian. They describe the architectural features of the churches, their splendid internal decoration, the majestic beauty and spirituality of the interior. These texts, written in a classicizing vocabulary and articulated in conformity with the rules of rhetoric, stress the churches' celestial grandeur. In the fourth and fifth centuries, the aesthetic and architectural principles of church construction and their symbolism of celestial analogies and heavenly spirituality were firmly established. By the sixth century the churches, integrated in the urban topography, dominated the urban landscape at the time when the secular utilitarian buildings of the Roman imperial period were collapsing. Only churches and urban fortifications survived the transition to the Middle Ages. Churches had become the principal symbols of the new culture and defined spiritual experience. Christianity was gradually giving a new coherence to urban topography. It redirected society's economic forces from secular buildings to construction of churches and related buildings. It centred daily activities in and around churches. It became a new urban force, both symbolically and practically. It replaced the vitality of the Roman imperial cities with a new Christian urban model. The various *enkomia* of churches that had sprung up in the sixth century reflect this change at the time when the Church was firmly established and had taken over the urban space.

The new focus on churches and articulation of the urban space around them can be seen in Jerusalem, the Christian city par excellence (Plan XIII). Jerusalem's urban development in the early Byzantine period was determined by the city's significance for Christians. Its holy sites, places of pilgrimage, attracted funds from emperors and aristocrats to build churches, monasteries and charitable institutions, bringing long-lasting changes to the city's topography and a major boost to the socio-economic life of the city. Jerusalem's churches are known from literary sources, and nine are depicted on the Madaba mosaic map of which, so far only five have been uncovered.[2217] Most prominent were the churches built by Constantine and Helen on the Holy Sepulchre and the Eleona Church on the Mount of Olives. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built on an enormous scale and possessed a complex architectural design. Beyond the outer atrium stood the basilica or martyrium, then the inner atrium and the rotunda around the Anastasis, and next a second inner atrium leading to a circular domed building. In the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, other churches, monasteries and charitable institutions were built in Jerusalem by benefactors from the East and the West. The Ascension Church was sponsored by the Roman aristocratic woman Poimenia. Athenais-Eudocia who visited the city on a pilgrimage in 438/9 and settled there in exile from around 443 to 460 was a major benefactor. She financed monasteries and charitable institutions and constructed the Church of the Virgin at Siloam where Jesus healed the blind man. This church became an important pilgrimage site visited by the sick. Eudocia may also have built a church dedicated to St. Anna, also known as the Church of the Paralytic, built over the Probatike or Bethesda pool. This church commemorated the birth of the Virgin and the healing of the paralytic on the site of a pagan temple to Asclepius. Eudocia also built the Church of St. Stephanus. Melania the Younger, another Roman aristocratic woman who chose the monastic life, also made many endowments to Jerusalem's churches. The Church of the Apostles on Mount Sion was built at the site where according to the tradition the Last Supper took place. The Praetorium where Pontius Pilatus held the trial of Jesus was actually located in the Tower of David, but in the early Byzantine period it was thought to have been in the Tyropean Valley, where a church was built in the middle of the fifth

[2217] A. Oradish, The Churches of Jerusalem on the Madaba Mosaic Map, in Piccirillo and Alliata, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, 252-254.

century. Also are mentioned the Church of St. George, near the New Gate, of St. Sophia, of Mary Magdalene, and the Corner Church of the Temple Mount dedicated to the memory of James. The Church of Jerusalem was granted economic privileges, and after the council of Chalcedon it was ranked as the first church of Palestine. Pilgrimage flourished, becoming a major factor in the city's economic vitality.[2218] Pilgrims in general and in about 570 the anonymous Piacenza pilgrim, describe Jerusalem's Christian monuments and their participation in processions through Jerusalem's Holy Sites.[2219] Justinian built the Nea Church, dedicated to the Theotokos, the city's largest church (a. 543). The Nea Church was situated in a prominent position, in the middle of the way leading from Constantine's churches to the Church of the Apostles on Mount Sion. Its construction started before his reign, but the emperor adopted the project and financed it. Procopius describes at length the difficulties the engineers faced in constructing the Nea Church, because of the steepness of the hill, the solution adopted being to support part of the church on a vaulted substructure. The huge stones were carried from a great distance on specially made wagons, by means of passages cut through the hills. Cedars of enormous height were cut from a dense forest to construct the roof, whilst stones for the columns were miraculously found near the city. Procopius emphasizes the great number and size of the columns of the Nea Church:

> So the church is supported on all sides by a great number of huge columns from that place, which in colour resemble flames of fire, some standing below and some above and others in the stoas which surround the whole church except on the side facing the east. Two of these columns stand before the door of the church, exceptionally large and probably second to no column in the whole world. Here is added another colonnaded stoa which is called the narthex, I suppose because it is not broad. Beyond this is a court with similar columns standing on the four sides.[2220]

A monastery with a library, a hostel for pilgrims and a hospital was attached to the church. An inscription commemorates the building of a large subterranean cistern by Justinian under the supervision of the hegoumenos.[2221] Justinianic restoration extended the magnificent colonnaded cardo to the south to reach the Nea Church, connecting the city centre with the Mount Sion.[2222]

In the Balkans, Justiniana Prima (Plan I) represents the type of sixth-century city promoted by the empire. The imperial foundation commemorating Justinian's birthplace was granted an elevated status, becoming the seat of a metropolitan and of the Prefect of Illyricum.[2223] Since the latter actually resided in Thessalonica, only the metropolitan lived at Justiniana Prima. Procopius refers to the city's churches in a vague statement, "for to enumerate the churches is not easy".[2224] Archaeological investigation gives us a much more concrete picture of the city's Christian character. During the first phase of construction (530-540) the buildings on the acropolis were built: Basilica A, the baptistery, the so-called consignatorium, and the bishop's palace. At this first stage, Basilica F in the upper city was also built. During the next stage it was decided to build a defensive wall to fortify the acropolis containing the cathedral complex

[2218] E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312-460* (Oxford 1982), 19-22, 128-154.

[2219] J. Wilkinson, Christian Pilgrims in Jerusalem during the Byzantine Period, *PEQ* 108 (1976), 75-101; N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Nashville, Tenn. 1983), 205-246.

[2220] Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.6.22-23 (transl. Dewing).

[2221] Ibid., V.6; N. Avigad, A Building Inscription of the Emperor Justinian and the Nea in Jerusalem, *IEJ* 27 (1977), 145-151. On the Nea Church see Y. Tsafrir, Procopius and the Nea Church in Jerusalem, *AncTard* 8 (2000), 149-164.

[2222] See *supra*, p. 274.

[2223] Procopius, *De aedificiis* IV.1.24-25; Novellae 11 (a. 535), 131.3 (a. 545).

[2224] Procopius, *De aedificiis* IV.1.23.

and the bishop's palace. In the upper city three churches were built: Basilica C, the cruciform Basilica B in between the gate of the upper city and the circular place, and Basilica F opposite Basilica B, although further to the west at the foot of the acropolis. All these churches have approximately the same length and width. In the lower city Basilica G or the Double Basilica, and Basilica D were built, the latter being the second largest church after the cathedral, 45 m long. Outside the walls of the lower city stood Basilica E to the east, and Basilica J further away to the southwest. Justiniana Prima had eight churches, all large basilicas, and all constructed as part of the same project.[2225] The location of most of the churches along the central avenue leading from the gate to the circular place and to the acropolis emphasizes their eminence in urban topography and their role in the city's culture and socio-economic structure. It has been suggested, albeit with reservations, that their location might have been dictated by the needs of processional and stationary liturgy, similar to that performed in Jerusalem.[2226] In addition, in sixth-century cities, Christian festivals involved processions from one church to another.[2227] In Justiniana Prima, the churches' central location may have been dictated by practical reasons, i.e. the topography and the need to make them easily accessible to people. It also expressed the Church's importance as an institution in the city's life: the most prominent position in the city, the acropolis on the hilltop, was reserved for the episcopal church and the bishop's palace, while the headquarters for the military and civil administration were assigned second place in the lower part of the city, the Church thereby conveying a powerful ideological message. Furthermore, in the sixth-century city traditional urban features, such as street colonnades, become subordinate to churches and were to enhance the churches' architectural authority. Thus the portico of the central avenue in front of Basilica B lost its function as a street portico and was substantially modified to function as an entrance to the church. Instead of pillars, it possessed columns, and its width was reduced by a staircase, built facing the street.[2228] In the same church particular effort was made to enhance the façade with the monumental entrance. The staircase was impressive and the size of the façade was larger than the rest of the church. Thus the position of the cathedral on the acropolis, the location of several churches along the central avenue, and the architectural design of the second largest church, Basilica B, made powerful statements regarding the dominance of the Church in the city's topography and life.

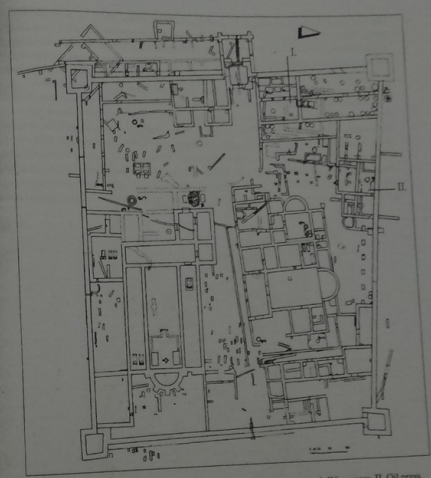
The recently excavated site of Louloudies near Katerini, in northern Greece, a station midway between Thessalonica to Dion, probably the *mansio* or *mutatio* Anamon, is another example of a small early Byzantine city with similar topographical characteristics and administrative and socio-economic structure. Under the Tetrarchs, it became a centre serving local administrative and taxation needs that arose, in particular, from the presence of the saltpans in the area. When in 479 the Goths were allowed to settle in Pydna, among other cities, in order to end the siege of Thessalonica, the bishopric was transferred from Pydna 8 km to the south, to the site of Louloudies (Plan 41). The new site, 80x90 m, was fortified with towers at the four corners. It included a fifth-century basilica, the bishop's residence, porticoes with piers, and barracks for the garrison. Although the Goths withdrew from the area in 485, the ecclesiastical centre in Louloudies was maintained. During the reign of Justinian the bishop's complex lost its fortified character and expanded, acquiring storerooms, industrial-sized wine presses, an olive press,

[2225] N. Duval, L'architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad dans le cadre de l'Illyricum oriental au VIe siècle, in *Villes et peuplement*, 399-480.

[2226] V. Popović, La signification historique de l'architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad, *CorsRav* XXVI (1979), 308-309.

[2227] Choricius, *Or.* I.93 (p. 26.1-4); *Vita S. Theodori Syceotae*, c. 101.36-42 (p. 81). See J. F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome 1987); A. Papaconstantinou, La liturgie stationnale à Oxyrhynchos dans la première moitié du 6e siècle. Réédition et commentaire de *POXY* XI 1357, *REB* 54 (1996), 135-159.

[2228] See supra, p. 276.

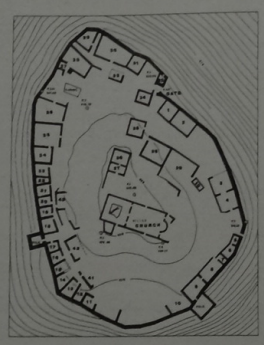


PLAN 41. The Bishop's complex at Louloudies, near Pydna in Greece: I. Wine press. II. Oil press.

artisans' workshops and commercial shops. In the same period, a larger basilica was built and the bishop's palace extended west and northeast with new structures, kitchens and a courtyard. At some point after the middle of the sixth century an earthquake destroyed the bishop's palace and the basilica. Only the central nave was restored and a cemetery appeared around it. It was possibly then that the bishop moved to the city of Pydna. The settlement, however, continued its economic activities, which in fact intensified. New storage rooms were built and the old ones were restored, and after a new destruction in a new earthquake they were restored and the soil was raised. In the seventh century, another earthquake destroyed the complex and it was consequently abandoned. Workshops were then established on the site for production of bricks, pottery, glass objects, and various tools for smiths and masons. All the annexes north of the basilica and all the areas of the bishop's residence were dilapidated. Poor workshops were also built outside the south and west wall during the Byzantine Dark Ages. Finally, for unknown

reasons, the inhabitants abandoned the settlement.[2235] A similar model for the small early Byzantine city is found near the ancient Greco-Roman city of Panemoteichos in Pisidia. Only 1.5 km west of Panemoteichos at Ören Tepe in a small Hellenistic garrison fort a large basilica (36x14.20 m) was built, dating to the fourth or fifth century (Plan 42). This was probably the seat of the bishop of Panemoteichos.[2236] In these settlements, there are one or more churches, in combination with facilities for a garrison, while at the same time the Church appears to have controlled major economic activities in the area.

In cities of large and medium size, churches gradually occupied the urban centre. They are found flanking central avenues, at major crossroads, on the site of earlier buildings or vacant lots, in residential districts or ancient civic centres. There are many examples of city centres occupied by churches. In the Balkans, at Tropaeum Traiani three central basilicas were built at the crossroads of the via principalis with the cardo: the Basilica Simple, the Basilica with Transept and the Basilica Forensis (supra, p. 292, Plan 30). In the civic centre of Heraclea Lyncestis stood two basilicas, aligned on the same axis so that one stood in front of the other, thereby forming a large complex, together with the bishop's palace and baths (Plan 43). Basilica C occupies a prominent position, being larger, located opposite the theatre



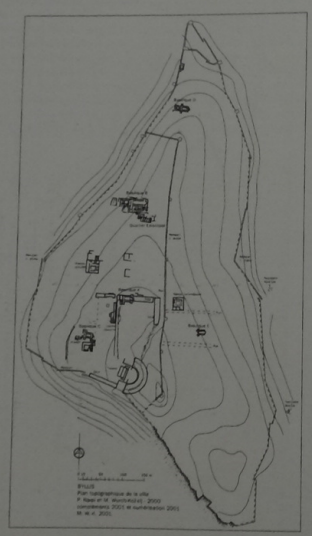
PLAN 42. Ören Tepe near Panemoteichos in Pisidia.

[2235] E. Marki, *Ανάλυσεις* 1997, *ΑΕΜΤ* 11 (1997), 289-293; idem, Κίφος. Μια πόλη-κάστρο της βυζαντινής περιφέρειας. *Αρχαιολογική και ιστορική προσέγγιση* (Thessalonica 2001), 14-23.

[2236] S. Aydal and S. Mitchell et al., The Pisidian Survey 1995: Panemoteichos and Ören Tepe. S. Mitchell: Ören Tepe, *AnatSt* 47 (1997), 170-172.

PLAN 43. Heraclea Lyncestis (modern Bitola in FYROM). 1. The theatre. 2. Portico. 3. Baths. 4. Basilica A. 5. Basilica C. 6. Bishop's palace. 7. Villa. 8. Basilica D.

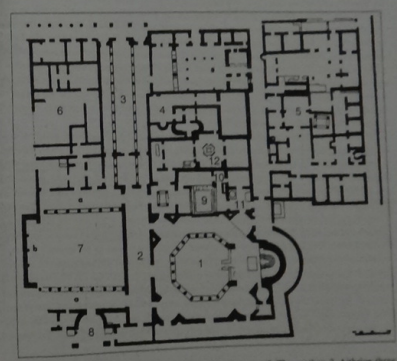
and attached to the bishop's residence. It was built in the late fifth century. The other one, Basilica A is smaller and built in the sixth century. In Byllis, in the province of Epirus Nova, in modern Albania, five basilicas are dispersed in different districts of the city. Of the three located in the upper city, one is built inside the stoa of the agora (Plan 44).[2221]



PLAN 44. Plan of Byllis in Albania.

[2221] S. Muçaj, Dy monumente të antikitetit të vonë në Bylis (Deux monuments de la Basse Antiquité à Byllis), *Iliria* 16/1 (1986), 321-327; idem, Bazilika A e Bylisit (La basilique A de Bylis), *Iliria* 17/1 (1987), 167-202; Saradi, Albania, 92-93.

Much more impressive and constructed on a majestic scale are the churches and their annexes in the centre of Philippi in Greece (Plan XIX). The basilicas arranged around the forum create a powerful imposing Christian centre. Philippi was a site of pilgrimage for Christians, because of St. Paul's visit to the city, his imprisonment there, and the letters he wrote to the local Christian community. Again, both the location of the churches at the heart of the city and their great size create the impression of an assertive and powerful Church. The Roman forum, however, was not occupied by Christian buildings, as these developed primarily to the east of the forum. Southeast of the forum the Octagon, or Basilica D, was built by bishop Porphyrius in 340, between the Egnatia (decumanus maximus) to the north and the street passing through the forum to the south (Plan 45).[2223] This area, the site of the flogging of Paul and Silas, was dedicated to St. Paul, and became the site of the city's cathedral. It was attached to a Hellenistic



PLAN 45. The Octagon complex at Philippi. 1. The Octagon. 2. The narthex. 3. Aithrion-three aisled portico. 4. Roman baths. 5. The bishop's palace. 6. Storage rooms and workshops or pilgrims' hostel. 7. Aithrion of the Octagon or courtyard of the pilgrims' hostel. 8. Monumental entrance. 9. The Hellenistic heroon. 10. Diakonikon with a table or cenotaph with martyr's relics. 11. Basin to collect the water flowing through the sarcophagus. 12. Baptistery.

[2223] S. Pelekanides, Ἀνασκαφὴ Φιλίππων, *PAE* 1975 [1977], 101.

Heroon and stood on earlier buildings. The Hellenistic Heroon, in the form of a temple with an underground Hellenistic tomb, functioned as a Christian cult centre until the destruction of the Octagon in the late sixth to the early seventh century. East of the heroon a narrow passage has been identified as a diaconicon with a marble table, or probably a sarcophagus with relics through which water flowed from the adjacent baths and collected in a basin in the adjacent room. This table or sarcophagus was a replica of the martyr's tomb in the underground burial chamber. A similar arrangement of a tomb underground and another above ground occurs in the Church of St. Demetrius in Thessalonica. Perhaps the Philippi tomb was believed to contain relics of St. Paul. The Hellenistic Heroon may have been reused for the burial of a Christian martyr or for holding relics. It was rebuilt in the late fourth or early fifth century, and later in the first half of the sixth century in the form of an octagon in which it survives.[2233] To the north attached to it was the baptistery. The Octagon was part of a large episcopal complex with the bishop's palace and other attached buildings occupying three insulae. The Octagon was accessed from the Egnatia by means of a long portico, with three aisles functioning as an atrium. Its monumental propylon with the three doors encroached on the street running through the forum, thereby reducing its width. To the west of the narthex and the atrium-portico of the Octagon from the Egnatia to the north as far as to the south decumanus, which was a commercial street, stand a complex of rooms and a large courtyard. The courtyard directly in front of the Octagon flanked by porticoes on both sides, north and south, and a large phiale on the west possessed a monumental entrance onto the south decumanus. It has been suggested that the courtyard was the aithrion of the Octagon and the complex of rooms was the centre of various economic activities, storerooms and workshops, or that these rooms were guesthouse for pilgrims with the courtyard.[2234]

Basilica A, whose cistern stood on the site of the prison of Paul and Silas, stood north of the Via Egnatia, facing the forum and was built around 500. At the end of the sixth century, after the Basilica A was destroyed by an earthquake, Basilica B was built. It stood south of the forum and was attached to the palaestra of the Roman gymnasium and abutted on part of the forum and on two streets. This was the site of the miracle involving the prophesying girl and of the capture of the Apostle. Basilica C (previously known as Basilica E or Basilica of the Museum), west of Basilica A on the foot of the hill of the acropolis, was smaller than Basilica A and B and the Octagon. It became the Episcopal Church, in the sixth century, when the bishop's palace was transferred there from the Octagon, which by then had become a major centre of pilgrimage and needed the space occupied by the bishop's palace.[2235] There was also another basilica, previously called Basilica D, 200 m west of the forum and south of the Via Egnatia at the northern corner of the Byzantine market (supra, p. 225, Plan 13).[2236] The visit by St. Paul to Philippi and the tradition that arose from it lie behind the impressive Christian development of the civic centre. By the end of the early Byzantine period the entire area of the ancient civic centre on both sides of the Egnatia, organized on terraces on the slope of the hill, was occupied by churches commemorating the events of St. Paul's visit. Moreover, the churches of Philippi are very large. Basilica A measures

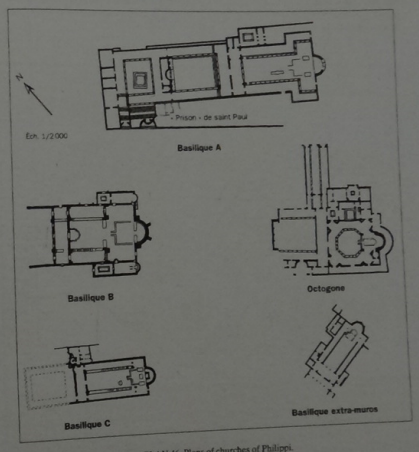
[2233] S. Pelekanides, Kultprobleme in Apostel-Paulus-Oktagon von Philippi im Zusammenhang mit einem aelteren Heroenkult, *ACAC IX (1975)*, II, 393-397; E. Pelekanidou and A. Mentzou, Οκτάγωνο Φιλίππων. Πρώτα συμπεράσματα μετά τις νεότερες έρευνες, in *Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη. Πόλις και χώρα στην αρχαία Μακεδονία και Θράκη. Πρακτικά Αρχαιολογικού Συνεδρίου, Καβάλα 9-11 Μαΐου 1986* (Thessalonica 1990), 596-607; Gounaris, *Valaneio*, 32, 39-54, 55-57 (the heroon); Bakirtzis and Koester, *Philippi*, 42-48 (the heroon).

[2234] S. Pelekanides, Ἀνασκαφαὶ Φιλίππων, *PAE* 1969 [1971], 43-51; G. Gounaris et al., Ἀνασκαφή Ὀκταγώνου Φιλίππων, *PAE* 1981/1 [1983], 14-17; Gounaris, *Valaneio*; Bakirtzis and Koester, *Philippi*, 40.

[2235] E. Kourkouridou-Nikolaidou, Το episkopeio των Φιλίππων στον 6ο αι., *Μνήμη Μανόλη Ανδρονίκου* (Thessalonica 1997), 115-125.

[2236] Provost and Boyd, Philippes, 460-469.

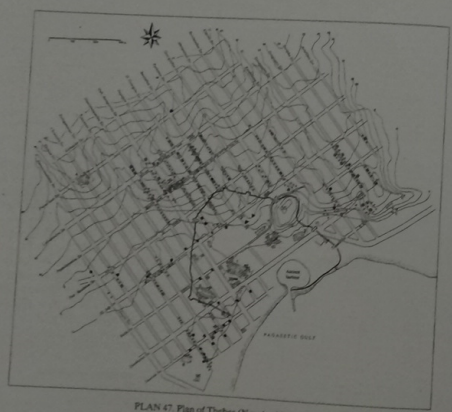
135x45 m and Basilica B 115x75 m (Plan 46). The implantation of the Christian churches in the city's fabric caused encroachment onto streets and the forum, a phenomenon known also from other cities of the empire. The bishop's palace and the propylon of the Octagon expanded on the Egnatia and the wall of the Octagon on the south street. Earlier monuments were demolished to build Basilica B, closing two streets and part of the Roman macellum. Basilica B, however, was never finished. At some point the dome collapsed, the work was interrupted, and the community had no means with which to finance its restoration.[2237]



PLAN 46. Plans of churches of Philippi.

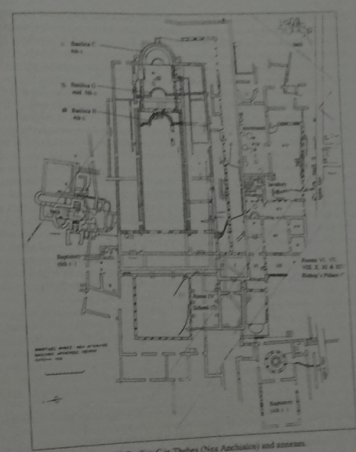
[2237] Lemerle, *Philippes*, 421-427; Lavas, Polis, 592-595.

Several annexes serving various activities organized by the Church were attached to the basilicas of Thessalian Thebes (Nea Anchialos) (Plan 47). Near Basilica A (or Basilica of St. Demetrius) and Basilica C (or Basilica of bishop Peter), only 200 m apart from each other, are numerous annexes, two baptisteries, two baths, the Bishop's palace, and various artisans' installations, such as a pottery workshop, an area for cooking and lavatories (Plan 48). Among the finds are included lamps, clay seals with the inscription ΘΗΒ, probably «Ἐσχατιὰ Θηβῶν». A storeroom with eight large pithoi has been excavated. During the reign of Justinian the south stoa of the atrium was converted into a room by closing off the area between the columns. On the basis of a mosaic floor with an owl in the centre and an inscription referring to a teacher from Pergamon, it has been suggested that in the post-Justinianic period a school operated in this room.[228] The cemeterial Basilica D outside the walls also had annexes for which various dates have been proposed.



PLAN 47. Plan of Thebes (Nea Anchialos).

[228] G. A. Soteriou, Ἀνασκαφαὶ Νέας Ἀγχιάλου, *PAE* 1929, 66-67; P. Lazaridis, Ἀνασκαφὴ Νέας Ἀγχιάλου, *PAE* 1979, 58; Soteriou, Thebes, 40 ff., 45, 103, 128-132; idem, Ἀνασκαφὴ ἐν Νέᾳ Ἀγχιάλῳ, *PAE* 1940, 19-21.



PLAN 48. Basilica C in Thebes (Nea Anchialos) and annexes.

The basilica of Campanopetra at Salamis in Cyprus was a magnificent complex and renowned pilgrims' centre. To the west of the church were two colonnaded atria opening onto each other. Behind the portico of the atrium nearest the church were rooms for pilgrims. A third atrium with a canopy extended to the east of the church. Annexes to the west of the church included latrines and an apsidal room with niches to receive the pilgrims' offerings or for archives. Northeast of the east atrium was a bath.[229]

Several churches and cult places are known in Ephesus (Plan III). The largest are the basilica in the Gymnasium of the East Bath by the Magnesian Gate, and the Cathedral dedicated to the Virgin, built

[229] G. Roux, *Salamine de Chypre XV. La basilique de la Campanopetra* (Paris 1998).

in a central location in the Market Basilica which stood behind the Gymnasium of Verulanus and which was destroyed by fire in the third century. On the hill of Ayasoluk, to which the city withdrew during the Byzantine Dark Ages, stood the Church of St. John the Theologian, built by Justinian in the middle of the sixth century. It was 130 m long with an atrium 34x7 m and a baptistery. Other churches and other cult sites are scattered throughout the city. Some were built at the site of temples, of the Serapeum and the Artemision, others in palaistrae and in other civic buildings.[2240]

In Apamea, the city centre was also dominated by churches (Plan XX). The Rotunda Church, occupying a double block, was built at the intersection of the decumanus with the cardo. Nearby opposite stands the Atrium Church. The Rotunda Church contains a large rotunda, 25 m in diameter, probably dating to the reign of Justinian.[2241] The Atrium Church, lavishly decorated with marble revetment and mosaics, and apparently also Justinianic, replaced an early fifth-century church built over a synagogue. The nave was flanked by reliquary chapels and a baptistery.[2242] The Cathedral Church of Apamea was built 500 m east of the intersection of the cardo and the decumanus, opposite the Pilaster House and the Console House near the city's east gate.[2243] Its monumental staircase was built over the colonnade of the avenue, a phenomenon also observed in Basilica B of Justiniana Prima. Its forecourt is large, 40x40 m, with porticoes and mosaics on all sides. Inscriptions identify the bishop as Paul, who sponsored the construction and decoration of the church in the early years of Justinian's reign.[2244] If this church was the cathedral, it therefore contained a relic of the Holy Cross, brought here by St. Helen and mentioned in accounts of the Persian invasion of 540. In addition, the church held coffers containing the relics of Saints Jude, Callinicus, John, and the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, and another not identified by inscription. Holy oil poured over the relics was directed through a channel in the wall and collected outside the church.[2245] In addition to the main building, the impressive cathedral complex consisted of numerous other buildings: a funerary chapel to the north, various rooms around a court, another chapel to the south, a baptistery also containing reliquaries, and a second baptistery south of it adjacent to a room for banquets for the catechumens. To the west of the cathedral was the so-called Triclinos House, which was also connected with the cathedral and has been identified as the bishop's palace. Between the bishop's palace and the cathedral were two colonnaded courts surrounded by rooms and leading to a bath. In the sixth century the whole area from the east gate and south of the decumanus up to the intersection with the cardo where the Rotunda Church and the Atrium Church were situated had become a large and majestic Christian centre. Another basilica was located to the north along the cardo towards the north gate.

Gerasa also had a vast monumental Christian centre (Plan VI). Of the nineteen churches known, ten were built in the area around the temple of Artemis in the very centre of the city. The central ecclesiastical complex was built next to the temple of Artemis on four terraces which rose at the rear as high as 18 m above street level. On the first terrace stood a monumental portico leading to a long staircase, on the second stood the cathedral containing an atrium and a miraculous fountain, on the third

[2240] R. Pillinger, Die Christlichen Denkmäler von Ephesos: Eine Bestandsaufnahme als Rück-und Vorschau, *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 2 (1996), 39-70; H. Thür, Das spätantike Ephesos. Aspekte zur Frage der Christianisierung des Stadtbildes, in Brandt and Severin, *Stadt*, 259-273.

[2241] *Apamée (1969)*, 39.

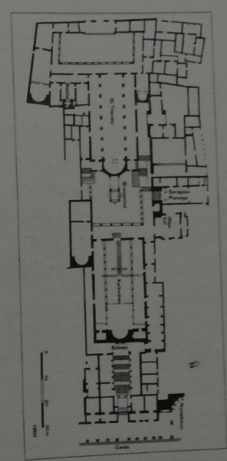
[2242] Napoleone-Lemaire and Balty, *L'église à atrium*, 27-75.

[2243] *Apamée (1972)*, 187-205; Balty, *Guide d'Apamée*, 106-115.

[2244] J. Ch. Balty, L'évêque Paul et le programme architectural et décoratif de la cathédrale d'Apamée, *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (Lausanne 1976), 31-46.

[2245] F. Mayence, La quatrième campagne de fouilles à Apamée, *Antiquité Classique* 4 (1935), 201-202. For a survey of the churches of Apamea see also Foss, Syria, 211-217.

terrace was the Church of St. Theodore and on the fourth were located baths and ecclesiastical residences in the area between the Church of St. Theodore and the court of the temple of Artemis (Plan 49). The length of the ecclesiastical complex from east to west was 153 m. The cathedral church, 35.5x20 m, was built around 365 on the site of a temple of Dionysus southeast of the temple of Artemis.[2246] Those ascending the stairs from the cardo would first see a small shrine built against the east wall of the cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin. It had the form of a niche whose upper part forms a shell and which is flanked by small pilasters. Beneath the shell an inscription in red identified the painted figures as Michael, Mary and Gabriel, whilst a lamp hung in the centre. The feature was enclosed by a metal



PLAN 49. The Cathedral and the Church of St. Theodore at Gerasa.

[2246] The Church of St. Theodore was also built on a pagan site: supra, pp. 358-359.

screen. For the visitors from the cardo the atrium stood at the back of the cathedral where the miraculous fountain was located (Figure 53). Interestingly, more attention was paid to the east portico of the atrium, where beautiful Corinthian capitals of uniform appearance were used, because this portico was closer to the church, while in the other porticoes the capitals were of various styles and the drums and bases of the Ionic columns are of various sizes. When the Church of St. Theodore was built in 494-496 behind the cathedral, two of the columns on the north and south sides of the atrium were removed. Three other columns on the south side were also removed to build the forecourt of the chapel at the southwest corner of the cathedral. Finally, only six columns were left on the north side and three on the south side of the atrium.[247] In the area between the Church of St. Theodore and the court of the temple of Artemis, potters' workshops were established, whilst in the sixth century a house for the choristers of the Church of St. Theodore was built, as recorded in a mosaic inscription of the pavement.[248]

Two hundred and fifty meters northwest of the Church of St. Theodore and oriented on the same axis, three adjacent churches were built in the early sixth century (529-533). They were dedicated to Saints Cosmas and Damian, St. George and St. John the Baptist. They shared a common atrium and communicated via internal doors. Behind the three churches, fifty meters to the west, is the Church of Bishop Genesius, the last church built in the city, in 611. Further to the north and behind the temple of

FIG. 53. The Fountain Court of the Cathedral of Gerasa. The miraculous fountain is located in the centre of the atrium. The stairs on the left lead to the Church of St. Theodore.
In the background in the centre is the Serapion Passage leading to the temple of Artemis.

[247] Crowfoot, Christian Churches, 208-211.

[248] Fisher, Buildings, 285; Welles, Inscriptions, no. 303 (p. 478): Χαριέστατοις εἰμι πάντες τέλειοι δευτέρας ἐρυθιδόγων ἀνδρῶν.

Artemis is located the so-called Synagogue Church built by bishop Paul in 530/1, on the site of a synagogue. Northeast of the temple, on a terrace by the city's second theatre the Church of Bishop Isaiah was built in 559. The Propylaea Church was built inside the colonnaded square, which formed a monumental entrance to the temple of Artemis across the cardo to the east. Built in 565, after an earthquake destroyed the bridge and the colonnaded square, it actually blocked the way to the bridge,[249] leaving only one bridge to lead to the eastern part of the city over the River Chrysorrhoas. As in other urban centres, in the second half of the sixth century the city's priorities had been limited to the churches. Another Byzantine church was built closer to the temple on the terrace of the altar. In the southwest corner of the city by the walls stood the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, built around 540, and fifteen meters to the south a small funerary church, built around the end of the sixth century. In the part of the city east of the river are three churches, one whose dedicand is unidentified, whilst the other is the Priorpias Church, and the third one is the chapel of Elias, Maria and Soreg. To the northeast of the river inside the walls stood a church dedicated to the Prophets, the Apostles and Martyrs (464/5), whilst another lay outside the wall by the north gate on the road to Birketein.[250] To the south, two churches were built in the front portion of the court of the temple of Zeus, and outside the city walls the Church of Bishop Marianos by the hippodrome (a. 570).

In Gerasa the temple of Artemis in the city centre was, unusually, surrounded on all sides by churches. The temple itself may have been used as a church for some time, as suggested by an inscription in red over some of its columns.[251] Most of these churches date to the sixth century when the pagan buildings had long ceased to function and the Christianization of the city was complete. The ecclesiastical complex with the cathedral, the shrine of the Virgin, the Church of St. Theodore, the Baths of bishop Placcus between this church and the temenos, and the shops with businesses serving the Christian visitors created a vast and impressive architectural complex in the heart of the city and gave a new orientation to the areas' economic and social activities.

In Caesarea Maritima, an octagonal martyrium was built in 480-500, on the so-called Temple Platform (Plan XVIII), the site of the temple of Rome and Augustus. The pagan temple had been demolished sometime between the end of the fourth and the early fifth century and another building, as yet unidentified, was constructed on the site. The octagonal martyrium was then built over this. The location of the martyrium at the centre of Caesarea, 12-13 m above the city, was prominent, and the staircase connecting it with the harbour suggests that there was a significant traffic in pilgrims arriving by sea.[252] The small city of Madaba in Jordan, in the province of Arabia and under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bostra, flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries thanks to trade, the proximity of the city to the famous pilgrimage site of Mount Nebo and other reasons particular to the area.[253] The construction of churches was undertaken at the initiative of various energetic bishops and reveals the city's prosperity (Plan 50). Justinian renovated a large cistern (30x20 m) north of the church containing the famous mosaic map, the only other similar renovation being attested in Jerusalem. The most famous of all the churches of Madaba is that containing the mosaic map, laid after 542, with representations of cities and sites of the Holy Land. Dated by their inscriptions, the churches of Madaba were built in the sixth century, whilst renovations were carried out in the second half of the sixth century and in the seventh century by the bishops John, Sergius and Leontius. Bishop Sergius (576-late sixth century) built the cathedral at

[249] See supra, p. 281.

[250] On the other churches of Gerasa see Crowfoot, Christian Churches, 227-262. On the Christianization and the churches of Gerasa in the sixth century see B. Brenk, Zur Christianisierung der spätrömischen Stadt im östlichen Mittelmeerraum, in Brands and Severin, Stadt, 85-95, esp. 86-91.

[251] C. S. Fisher, The Temple of Artemis, in Kraeling, Gerasa, 138, and Welles, Inscriptions, no. 337 (p. 487).

[252] Hohlfelder, The Christianizing, 161-184.

[253] See supra, p. 38.

PLAN 50. The churches along the Roman cardo of Madaba: 1. The Church of St. George with the mosaic of the Madaba Map. 2. The Church of the Virgin. 3. The Church of the Prophet Elias. 4. The Church of the Sunna' Pattaly. 5. The Church of the Holy Martyrs. 6. The Burnt Palace.

the end of the sixth century, whilst across the street from the Church of the Virgin, he built the Church of the Prophet Elias. In 595/6 bishop Sergius built a crypt of St. Aelianos below street level and decorated it with a mosaic. In 578/9 he built the Church of the Holy Apostles. Two of the inscriptions in the Church of the Prophet Elias, one of which dates to 608, employ the adjective ταπεινός to qualify the city (τῆς ταπεινῆς ἀστεῖας ταύτης, and τῆς ταπεινῆς πόλεως ταύτης).[224] Humility, a fundamental Christian value, gives the city a Christian tone and contrasts with the pronounced pride of the spirit of the ancient city. The building activity of bishop Sergius extended to the town of Umm al-Rasas, in the churches of Bishop Sergius, of the Priest Wa' il, of the Lions, and the Church of St. Sergius. He also completed the mosaic of the baptistery chapel at the Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo.[225]

Churches were built on available vacant lots and on a wide variety of earlier buildings, such as private houses donated to the Church, pagan temples and synagogues, abandoned civic buildings, porticoes, baths, theatres, hippodromes, in the centre of the cities or scattered in neighbourhoods and sometimes attached to city walls, or *extra muros*.[226] In many cases, however, the nature of the buildings that the churches replaced remains unclear. The establishment of churches in more central locations in ancient cities was gradual and it followed the progress of Christianity and the increasing control of the Church in the cities and the disintegration of civic buildings. In the sixth century most churches were built in the

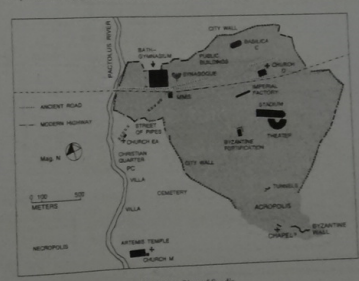
[224] M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici di Madaba* (Milan 1989); idem, *Mosaics*, 40 ff.; *IGSyr* XXI/2, nos. 145, 146 (a. 607-608).

[225] Piccirillo, *Mosaics*, 206 ff.; idem, *Madaba: One Hundred Years from the Discovery*, in Piccirillo and Alliata, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, 18.

[226] For a general survey see J. Vaes, Christliche Wiederverwendung, 305-443, but without chronological specifications. On the various patterns of implantation of churches in cities of the Illyricum see N. Duval and V. Popović, Urbanisme et topographie chrétienne dans les provinces septentrionales de l'Illyricum, *ACAC X* (1980), 541-579; Lavra, Poleis; Spieser, La ville, 331-352; T. Marasović, Ristrutturazione delle città sulla costa orientale adriatica nell'epoca paleocristiana, *ACAC XI* (1986), 527-546; M. Milošević, Forming and Transforming Proto-Byzantine Urban Public Space, in Allen and Jeffreys, *The Sixth Century*, 256-259; Castrio Wataghin, Un'inter sedes, 675-749; A. Michel, L'église dans la ville: la christianisation de l'espace urbain dans la Dorlande byzantine, in Baumelle et al., *Mélanges d'antiquité tardive*, 175-199.

very centre of the cities, thus making it clear that by then the Church was firmly established in urban centres.[227] During the sixth century, the Church appropriated the agora/forum of the cities, areas directly related to the history and culture of ancient urban life. Developments in the West followed a similar path. For example, in Rome, churches were built in the forum from the sixth century on.[228] Everywhere the vacuum created by decaying civic monuments was filled by private construction and ecclesiastical buildings. The implantation of churches in pre-existing city plans was not always smooth. In some cities in the later part of the early Byzantine period, churches were inserted in the urban fabric by disrupting the earlier layout of streets and buildings. In peripheral areas of the empire this trend appears earlier. For example, in the fourth century, in Poreč the cathedral expanded on a cardo leading to the north city gate with the construction of a narthex with an *exedra* over the cardo. In order to reach the city gate, people had to by-pass the narthex.[229] However, the construction of most churches, laid out when cities had not yet started to disintegrate, respected earlier city blocks.

Churches were also scattered in different sections of the cities, thereby creating new socio-economic centres. Sardis offers a good example. There, during the reign of Constantine or of his sons, a new Christian district was developed around Church EA between the river Pactolus and the city wall, on the west part of the city (Plan 51). In the past, there had been only a water tank and some burials. The



PLAN 51. Plan of Sardis.

[227] H.-G. Severin, Aspekte der Positionierung der Kirchen in oströmischen Städten, in Brands and Severin, Stadt, 249-258; A. Provoost, A Theoretical Model Concerning Early Christian Topography, in Rutgers, *What Athens*, 333-347.

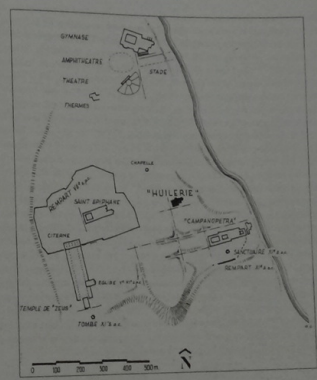
[228] L. Reekmans, L'implantation monumentale chrétienne dans le paysage urbain de Rome de 300 à 850, *ACAC XI* (1986), 861-915, esp. 876-877. In Italy in most cases churches were implanted in urban centres in the fifth and sixth centuries: P. Testini, G. Castrio Wataghin and L. Pani Ermini, La cattedrale in Italia, ibid., 5-228. For the progressive proliferation of churches dictated by imperial policy see R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals. Topography and Politics* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1983).

[229] L. Matejčić, Du cardo au 'narthex' de la cathédrale: contribution à l'étude du développement du groupe épiscopal de Poreč, in Baumelle et al., *Mélanges d'antiquité tardive*, 149-164.

PLAN 52. The Byzantine community to the northwest of the temple of Artemis and Church M at Sardis.

new Christian district developed perhaps because a cemetery with a martyr's tomb was located in this area. Further to the south, a small church, Church M, was built by the southeastern corner of the temple of Artemis, thus sanctifying the pagan site and serving as a cemetery for the area (Plans 51, 52). North of the temple a community developed in Byzantine times.[2260] The city centre of Stobi in the fourth century appears to have been on the east side where the Small Bath is located and the so-called "Casino" (Plan XVII). But in the fifth century, when the Episcopal Basilica was built, the area around the Via Sacra and the Episcopal Basilica was reorganized, and the city centre was transferred there.[2261] The basilica of Campanopetra in Salamis-Constantia in Cyprus offers another example of the construction of a

[2260] Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 194-195.
[2261] Mikulčić, *Stobi*, 109.



PLAN 53. The plan of Salamis-Constantia.

church bringing about the formation of a new residential area around it (Plan 53).[2262] From the end of the sixth century, a decentralizing tendency, which takes the form of the development of districts around parish churches, becomes evident and continues to the eighth century, at which point cities decline dramatically and ancient city centres are abandoned.

During the fifth and the sixth century increasing numbers of churches were constructed in the cities throughout the empire. No precise figures exist, admittedly, as the number is constantly increasing thanks to new discoveries and the dating of many churches resting, as it does, on stylistic grounds alone is insecure. In Constantinople, during the reign of Heraclius many churches, chapels and monasteries are mentioned.[2263] In provincial cities the number of churches known varies. From Thessalian

[2262] Argoud et al., *L'huilerie*, 49.
[2263] J. Koridaris, Die Novellen des Kaisers Herakleios, in D. Simon (ed.), *Forum Minores* 5 (Frankfurt am Main 1982), 68 (ll. 93-94), 74 (ll. 20-21: ἐν τῇ τοιούτων ἁγιωτάτων ἐκκλησιῶν τε καὶ εὐκτηρίων οἴκων καὶ κρείττ τέλεσιν μονοστηρίων ἔστι πλῆθος). In the city and suburbs of Rome, too, the number of churches, chapels and monasteries increased. By the sixth century, eighty-three churches are recorded in the city, and together with the suburbs the estimated number is approximately one hundred and thirty: F. Guidobaldi, Spazio urbano e organizzazione ecclesiastica a Roma nel VI e VII secolo, *ACdC XIII (1994)*, II, 29-54, and tab. in p. 44.

Thebes (Nea Anchialos) nine basilical churches are known, four *intra muros* and five *extra muros*. At Argos six are recorded, and at Stobi three *intra muros* and three *extra muros*.[2264] In Salona nine churches and two oratoria in the Roman amphitheatre are known (Plan XVI). In kastra of the Danubian *limes* the number of churches was obviously smaller, but there were exceptions. In Novae in the lower Danube five churches are recorded.[2265] Churches in the cities of the East are more numerous. In Madaba alone over ten churches are known, from Gerasa nineteen, and from Caesarea at least ten.[2266] In smaller towns in the East, too, the churches multiplied, an increase that may be linked to other commercial and social changes in the area. In the Trans-Jordan area, changing trade routes and the sedentarization of Arab *foederati* were the main reasons for the development of the area.[2267] Umm el-Jimal in Jordan had fifteen churches, most of them chapels, whilst only one is dated (a. 556), the so-called Cathedral, so named because of its central position (Plan 54). The town of Rihab, 26 km east of Gerasa, had ten churches dating from 533-635.[2268] Khirbat al-Samra, located between Bostra and Philadelphia, a large village (200x200 m) on the road Via Nova Traiana, connecting the port of Aila on the Red Sea with Bostra, had eight churches, all built between 550-650 (Plan 55).[2269] Umm al-Rasas (Kastron Mefaa) had three ecclesiastical complexes and perhaps a fourth to the southwest, presumably because it was a religious centre for the Arab *foederati*. The largest complex, that of St. Stephanus, had four churches with annexes all enclosed within a wall (Plan 56).[2270] The most important churches, containing mosaic pavement, are the Church of Bishop Sergius, which possesses an adjoining baptistery, and the Church of St. Stephanus. A similar pattern is observed in some cities in Asia Minor. For example, the number of churches in Kyaneai in central Lycia is six, of which three were large (Plan 57).[2271] On the other hand, papyri offer figures that may be misleadingly inflated: in Ptolemais Evergetis fourteen churches and ten monasteries are recorded, in Oxyrhynchus forty-three churches, in Aphrodito and its territory over twenty-five churches and thirty-three monasteries are mentioned and in Hermoupolis thirty-nine churches and forty-two monasteries. It is true that the papyri record churches that may not have existed simultaneously, thus producing a misleading impression. Nevertheless, the papyri, with their large figures, create a truer picture of the situation than the necessarily patchy archaeological record.[2272]

Private churches

Private churches were more numerous by far than parish churches built on the initiative of the bishop and under his supervision. Sources tell us that such private churches were built everywhere on country estates and in cities. Construction of churches was an expression of piety. They were also indicative of the shift in emphasis from public to private life, which marks the transition to mediaeval Byzantium. Christian Fathers repeatedly urge Christians to avoid public places and stay home in the

[2264] Karagiorgou, Demetrias and Thebes, 187-191, 193-194; Abadie-Reynal, Argos, 399; Mikulčić, *Stobi*, 143.

[2265] K. Dimitrov, Novae on the Lower Danube as an Early Christian Centre, *ACAC XII (1991)*, II, 700-704.

[2266] Holum, The Christianizing, 151-164.

[2267] See supra, pp. 34, 38.

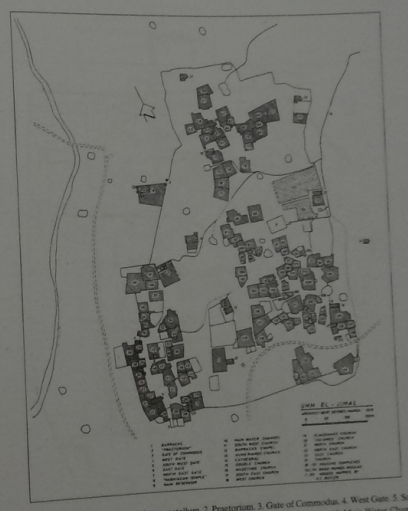
[2268] Piccirillo, *Chiese*, 54-60; idem, *Mosaics*, 310-313.

[2269] J.-B. Humbert and A. Desreumaux, Huit campagnes de fouilles au *Khirbet es-Samra* (1981-1989), *Revue Biblique* 97/2 (1990), 258-265.

[2270] Piccirillo, *Mosaics*, 205-243; idem, Les églises paléo-chrétiennes d'Umm Er-Rasas (Jordanie): Cinq campagnes de fouilles, *CRAI* 1991, 273-294.

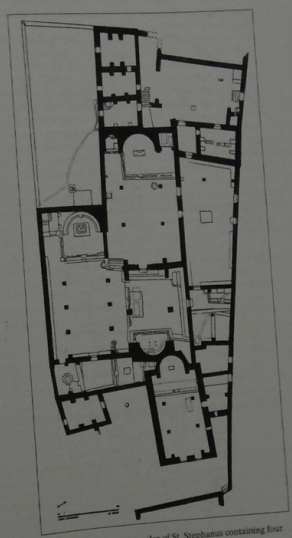
[2271] Fr. Kolb, Bericht über Feldforschungen in Kyaneai und Umgebung im Sommer 1990, *AST* 9 (1991), 21-45.

[2272] Alston, *The City*, 293-301. See also E. Wipszycka, Le monachisme égyptien et les villes, *TM* 12 (1994), 1-44.



PLAN 54. Plan of Umm el-Jimal. 1. Later castellum. 2. Praetorium. 3. Gate of Commodus. 4. West Gate. 5. South West Gate. 6. East Gate. 7. North East Gate. 8. Nabataean Temple. 9. Main Reservoir. 10. Main Water Channel. 11. South West Church. 12. Barracks Chapel. 13. Numerianos Church. 14. Cathedral. 15. Double Church. 16. Masechos Church. 17. South East Church. 18. West Church. 19. Klaudianos Church. 20. Julianos Church. 21. North Church. 22. North East Church. 23. East Church. 24. Church. 25-132. Housing Complexes. 133, 134. Badly ruined insulae. I-XX. Houses mapped by H. C. Butler.

PLAN 55. Plan of Khirbat al-Samra located between Bostra and Philadelphia with eight churches.



PLAN 56. Plan of the complex of St. Stephanus containing four churches at Umm al-Rasas.

PLAN 57. Plan of Kyaneai in Lycia.

tranquillity of the family environment. For the Christian, his *oikos* resembled a monastery.[2273] Severus of Antioch advised his flock to avoid the noise of public places, to stay home and live there as in a sanctuary of philosophy, keeping themselves busy with domestic work and focusing on their spiritual life.[2274] In the fourth century, the Church Fathers strongly encouraged the erection of private churches on country estates to serve the religious needs of the landlords' Christian peasants and to aid the conversion of pagans. The chapel described by Gregory of Nyssa built immediately in front of a villa in Cappadocia, is one of many such examples.[2275] In the sixth century, private churches multiplied throughout the countryside and are mentioned in the *Lives* of saints. Hagiographical sources also mention private chapels in urban dwellings.[2276] St. Martha maintained her privacy (ἀλλ' ἔστατο ἰδιάζουσα) even during the Sunday liturgy.[2277] The need for privacy during prayer was satisfied by the construction of *eukteria*, chapels, even in episcopal residences for the celebration of the liturgy in solitude during weekdays.[2278] The various chapels, whose plan suggests they were Justinianic, attached to the church of the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai may have been employed for the celebration of the liturgy on weekdays. Chapels attached to larger churches were also used for other purposes. Many had funerary function, being either intended for the burial of privileged Christians or to serve as martyria.[2279] Justinianic legislation legitimized the Church's authority over private churches and *eukteria*, recognizing the need for private *oikoi* for prayer, while maintaining principles of Roman law establishing the incompatibility of sacral sites with private ownership.[2280] Sixth-century papyri mention private churches and other religious foundations in cities and in estates, thereby throwing light on the regulations and function of private foundations, the rights of founders, details of administration and the endowment and financial support by the founders.[2281]

Usually, texts distinguish between private churches and *eukteria* on the one hand and episcopal churches and other parochial churches or *katholikai ekklesiai* on the other. The small size of some excavated *eukteria* suggests that they were private. The distinction, however, is not always clear, since large churches are occasionally designated in inscriptions as *eukteria*, and in papyri even monasteries are identified by the same term.[2282] Written sources inform us that private churches were often built next to the founder's dwelling or that the entire residence was transformed by the addition of an apse into a church, or that a chapel was occasionally included in a large residence.[2283] The identification of possible chapels in large residential complexes is not easy, since chapels are identified principally by the apse and so cannot often be easily distinguished from triklinia.

The proliferation of private churches, most of which often escaped the bishops' control, alarmed the Church. The celebration of the liturgy in private houses became a growing concern and the Council of Chalcedon set out the principles for regulating private churches. By placing them under the control of

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[2273] St. Basil, *PG* 31, 925A-928B; Gregory of Nazianzos, *PG* 36, 225A. See also supra, pp. 218-219.

[2274] Severus, *Hom.* 87, *PO* 23/3 (1932), 90.

[2275] John Chrysostom, *PG* 60, 146-147; P. Maraval, *Grégoire de Nysse. Lettres* (Paris 1990), *Ep.* 20.8.

[2276] *Vita S. Theodori Choremis*, c.19 (p. 8); *Vita S. Sion*, c. 27-28 (pp. 130-131); Moschus, 2944C;*Vita S. Marthae*, c. 2.3 (p. 254: ἐν τῇ κατ' οἶκον ἰκανῇ σχολάζουσα); Doniel of Scete, 371.23-24; *Vita S. Theodori Syceotis*, c. 107.21-23 (p. 85).

[2277] *Vita S. Marthae*, c. 3.14 (p. 255).

[2278] *Vita S. Iohannis Eleemosyn.*, c. 25.14-15 (p. 376); 41.6 (p. 393).

[2279] G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris 1969).

[2280] *Just.* II.1.7-8; III.23.5; *Dig.* XVIII.1.75; 1.8.6.3.

[2281] Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 59-110; Wipszycka, *Les ressources*, 26-27.

[2282] J. Gascou, *Un codex fiscal hermopolite (P. Sorb. II 69)* (Atlanta, Georgia 1994), 71-72, regarding the use of these terms from a fiscal point of view; Wipszycka, *Les ressources*, 27 and n. 1.

[2283] Cyril of Scythopolis, 147.10-13; *Vita S. Theodori Syceotis*, c. 107.21-23 (p. 85).

the local bishops, the Church ensured that only bishops could grant permission for the construction of private chapels and monasteries. Imperial legislation, sanctioning the official position of the Church, was concerned with four issues: to ensure bishops' control over the private foundations, a means also of preventing the construction of churches by heretics; to forbid the use of private churches by heretics; to forbid the celebration of the liturgy in *eukterioi oikoi* and to designate them merely as places for prayer (εὐχῆς δὲ καὶ μόνης χάριν . . . ὡς ἐν ἱεροῖς εὔχεσθαι); and lastly, to ensure the completion of construction work and to secure funds provided by the founders for the functioning of private churches in the future.[2284] There is also growing concern in the sources regarding the decline of many of these private churches not long after they had been established. The passage of time was a major factor in the neglect, while poor management of their finances led to loss of their assets.[2285] Justinian's *Novel* 67 (a. 538) explains that, although patrons were eager to build churches for their reputation, they neglected to grant them an annuity that would assure their maintenance, lighting, and the salaries of the priests. Thus thanks to lack of resources many churches came close to collapsing over the passage of time. In the future, the founders of new churches were to inform bishops of the funds they intended to donate to their churches. If the funds were not sufficient, they were to be invested in the restoration of existing churches. Construction of new monasteries, churches and chapels (*eukterioi oikoi*) were to be undertaken under the direct supervision of the bishops: they were to sanction their construction, and celebrate publicly the ceremony of the foundation by implanting a cross.[2286]

Christian munificence

Church Fathers and bishops urged Christians to construct churches. The construction of churches constituted a demonstration of sincere religious feelings, whilst also strengthening the position of the Church. Spiritual rewards, the worldly expectations of the founders, and social services offered to the weak were the anticipated benefits arising from church construction. John Chrysostom explains the ideology promoted by the Church. He urges landlords to erect churches on their estates, instead of secular buildings, markets and baths. To the argument that the return of the investment in church construction was small by comparison to the expense, John Chrysostom replies that its reward was in social and spiritual terms. The landlord is to regard the church as a wife or a daughter to whom he has given a dowry. The annuity that provided the church's future function was only a small part of his revenue and it should be regarded as a gift to God. In return, the memory of the church founder would be perpetually commemorated by the worshippers. The fields of the founder would be blessed with increased productivity, and he would be protected from all misfortunes. Next to the worldly benefits were spiritual benefits: the construction of a church was a spiritual work, for the church is a place for prayer; the sponsor of a church would receive a long-lasting reward on the Day of the Judgement.[2287]

In the course of the early Byzantine period, the official Church increasingly stressed secular concerns and worldly rewards for the founders of churches and ecclesiastical institutions. Severus explains that congregations attended churches in order to pray. They presented the saints with their requests and

[2284] *Novellae* 131.7-8, 10 (a. 545), 58 (a. 537), 67.1-2 (a. 538); *CJ* I.2.15 (a. 474-491); I.3.45.1 (a. 530). On the Justinianic legislation and other sources regarding regulations concerning private religious foundations see Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 37-58.

[2285] Choricius, *Or.* II, c. 19-20 (p. 33); Anastasius Sinaites, *PG* 89, 464A.

[2286] *Novellae* 67.2, 131.7 (a. 545).

[2287] John Chrysostom, *PG* 60, 146-148.

were granted assistance, they were cured and received various favours. He asked his flock to contribute silver to cover the cupola over the altar of the church of the martyr Drosis in Antioch. The concern was not merely aesthetic. The donations would also be a manifestation of respect (αἰδῶς). He addresses his request particularly to pious women and stressed that their rewards will be primarily worldly. Their children will enjoy good health and academic ability and all other fine things that parents rejoice to see in their children. Their husbands will receive financial gains, their house and their possessions will be blessed, and after death they will be rewarded with a place in God's kingdom.[2288] In this text, the worldly rewards occupy the major part of the discourse. Of interest also is the emphasis on the blessing of the donor's family, missing in John Chrysostom's arguments. There the reward is personal, closer to the ancient tradition of civic euergetism, while in Severus' Homily it has shifted to being of benefit to the family. Sponsorship of construction work associated with pagan temples for the benefit of the sponsor's family members is also known from pagan dedicatory inscriptions, but it was in the ecclesiastical literature that the idea became firmly established.[2289] At the same time, Christian munificence was perceived as a public act. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius, observed that the manifold donations for the construction and lavish adornment of churches primarily intended to honour the saints were publicized and the acts of euergetism were announced in various triumphalist ways (πολυμερῶς αὐτῶν τὰς δωρεὰς θριαμβεύοντες, καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας πολυτρόπως κηρύττοντες). The public character of church construction was described in the vocabulary of ancient civic euergetism. We have now moved away from the simple moral message of the fourth-century Fathers. Sophronius employs this vocabulary to specify the forms of this euergetism: the erection of lofty churches, their adornment with various marbles and with mosaic compositions shining as if they were made of gold, bright paintings, gold and silver objects and silk fabrics. All donors compete for the honour of the martyrs (ἀπὸ τὴν τῶν μαρτύρων τιμὴν ἀμιλλάσθωσαν) depending on their financial situation and the intensity of their desire. Each one wishes to be superior to the others, thus demonstrating his love for the martyrs and hoping to receive spiritual ornaments and eternal rewards. Even when in a text like this the emphasis is on the donors' spiritual benefits, the language used to describe Christian munificence is worldly and panegyrical.

Thus, with time, the official Church adopted a more secular view, as it were, in regard to the sponsorship of church buildings, together with a more panegyrical language to describe Christian munificence, although the issue of funds directed towards ecclesiastical constructions, instead of towards relieving the poor and the sick, still raised questions.[2290] Sources of the sixth century referring to Christian munificence also allow us to make another observation. Texts promoted either the ancient ideal of munificence or Christian spiritual concerns, depending on the ideology projected in these texts or on the attitudes of the social groups addressed. Thus, for example, Justinianic legislation maintained an ancient perception of Christian munificence, stressing the founders' reputation (ὀνόματος ἕνεκεν) and the preservation of their memory forever (ἡ διηνεκὴς τοῦ τελευτήσαντος μνήμη, δι' ἣν καὶ τὸ ἀνωνύμον τοῦτο καταλέλοιπεν).[2291]

Bishops, above all, were involved in the construction of churches and various ecclesiastical institutions. They personally coordinated funding efforts for the construction and decoration of churches and supervised the works. Inscriptions commemorating their involvement in such works were usually placed in the most prominent position in churches, while those commemorating secular benefactors

[2288] Severus, *Hom.* 100, *PO* 22/2 (1930), 246-248. See also Wipszycka, *Les ressources*, 29-32 for the Egyptian sources.

[2289] For example, *IG*3*yr* IV, no. 1259 (ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνδρός . . . ὑπὲρ τέκνων αὐτῆς); *Vita S. Iohannis Eleemosyn.*, c. 25 (p. 376).

[2290] Anastasius Sinaites, *PG* 89, 464A-B.

[2291] *Novella* 67, proem and 2; *CJ* I.3.45.10.

are displayed in places of secondary importance.[2292] In early monuments, bishops displayed the pride of the ancient benefactors in whose tradition they still stood, employing a vocabulary of worldly glory, rather than that of Christian humility, which might have been expected. A funerary inscription from a sarcophagus from Laodicea in Asia Minor, dated to about 340 A.D., contains a bishop's autobiography and praise for the construction of a church. He was a member of the boule, served as soldier in the office of the governor in the province of Pisidia, and was married to the daughter of a Roman senator. He resisted pressure to sacrifice to the pagan gods, and he was finally ordained bishop. He constructed a church with all its embellishments of stoas, tetrastoa, wall paintings, mosaics, a fountain and a vestibule, and ornamental stonework. He accordingly had these achievements engraved on his sarcophagus to adorn the church and his family (εἰς κόσμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ γένους μου).[2293] Christian authors criticize the excessive construction activities of some bishops and complain of the loss of resources, which could have been used to help the poor and sick. The obsession of the bishop of Alexandria Theophilus with building construction (λιθομανία) became legendary. Palladius relates the story of a wealthy widow who donated 1,000 gold coins to a priest to buy clothes for Alexandria's poor women, and instructed him not to inform bishop Theophilus, for the bishop, she feared, would spend the money on building. Palladius comments that many bishops showed real passion (πάθος) for building, and they did injustice to the poor by vainly spending much money on lavish constructions. They believed that by sponsoring the erection of raised courtyards in churches, raised pools, baths, etc., they would appear virtuous (χρηστοί) and painstaking (φιλόπονοι), and would thus be honoured.[2294]

Rhetorical works and inscriptions combine the traditional terminology of ancient urban benefaction with Christian ideology to describe Christian munificence. For Choricius, the purpose of erecting churches was to preserve and renew the memory of pious acts of holy men,[2295] and, in contrast to the construction of other buildings, which adorned the city, the construction of churches added beauty to the urban environment and also glorified God.[2296] Churches built by bishop Marcian showed his piety and respect for the saints.[2297] Worldly glory of the sort deriving from ancient euergetism continued to be valued, being placed immediately after the Christian concept of piety: the restoration of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Gaza gave glory (εὐκλειαν) to the bishop.[2298] Choricius also shows that the ancient competitive spirit whereby each individual city aimed to create the most splendid civic buildings had shifted to competition to construct the most splendid church. When the Church of St. Stephanus was built in Gaza by bishop Marcian and the *archon* Stephanus, the other cities were compelled to admit their defeat (ἥτταν).[2299]

[2292] B. Hamarneh, Evergetismo ecclesiastico e laico nella Giordania bizantina ed ommayade nel V-VIII secolo. Testimonianze epigrafiche, *Vetera Christianorum* (Bari) 33 (1996), 57-75, esp. 75.

[2293] G. J. Johnson, *Early-Christian Epitaphs from Anatolia* (Atlanta, Georgia 1995), 88-91.

[2294] Palladius, *Dialogue sur la Vie de Jean Chrysostome*, ed. A.-M. Malingrey, I (Paris 1988), VI.58-64 (p. 132): λιθομανία γὰρ τις αὐτὸν φαρμάσσας ἔχει εἰς οἰκοδομήματα, ὃν οἰδαμῶς χρῆζει ἡ ἐκκλησία ... XIII.96-98 (p. 268): καὶ στήλας ὑψηλὰν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐγείροντες, ἵνα ἐκ τούτων δόξαντες χρηστοὶ καὶ φιλόπονοι φαίνεσθαι ... XIII.105-109 (p. 270): οὐ συμπεφιλαμβάνουν τοῖς εἰλάγγοις καὶ δι' ἀνάγκην κτίζοντας ἢ διορθουμένους τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς τῶν πτωχῶν εἰς κρεμαστοὺς περιβόλους καὶ ἀχρεῖον ὕδατιον δεξαμενὰς ἐν τρυφῇ καὶ ἀπορεῖ ἀνδρογόνων λουτρὰ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις κατανωλώσκοντας.

[2295] Choricius, *Or.* I, c. 11 (p. 5).

[2296] Ibid., c. 30 (p. 10.16-19): αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι φιλοτιμίαι μόνην εὐπρέπειαν τῇ πόλει περιποιοῦσαν, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων κατασκευὴ μετὰ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ δόξαν δοῦσα θεότητος συνεκάτει.

[2297] Ibid., II, c. 77 (p. 47.14-15): γνώριμα εἶδον εὐσεβοῦς καὶ τιμὴ τῶν δικαίων.

[2298] Ibid., c. 18 (p. 33.1).

[2299] Ibid., c. 58 (p. 42.19).

Sixth-century inscriptions still express the pride on the part of bishops in their construction of churches, and the competition with other bishops. The wording of some inscriptions gives the impression that they had adopted the spirit of ancient euergetism and replaced the secular benefactors. In the famous mosaic inscription of Thyrsos from Tegea, dated probably to the sixth century, the bishop, perhaps eighteenth in the ecclesiastical order of southern Greece, is praised for having overshadowed all the other bishops of southern Greece with his qualities, as the edifices and the mosaic decoration testified (ἀμφοτέρων ἔκρυψεν προσηνόφως πάσιν ἰσοδίκῃ).[2300] In an inscription from the Church of St. John the Baptist in Gerasa it is stated that those who saw the church would praise the bishop who supervised the construction work (Παῦλου δικαίως τοῦ σοφοῦ τοῦ ποιμένος οἰκοῦσα τὴν ἄγαν προθημίαν) and the donation made by the builder (καὶ τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν χορηγίαν).[2301] In one of the most elaborate dedicatory inscriptions by benefactor bishops to survive, in Basilica A at Nicopolis, dating to the middle of the sixth century, there is a preference for the values of Christian spirituality and morality. Bishop Dometius built a church to glorify God (Θεοῦ χάριν), while he himself is renowned on account of his virtue, he is celebrated (περίφημος), is most virtuous (πανάριστος), and is a great light of all the fatherland (ὅλης πάτρης μέγα φέγγος).[2302] The glory and honour deriving from the erection or renovation of churches was increasingly assigned to God and to the saints: εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πρωτομάρτυρος Στεφάνου.[2303] An inscription from the cathedral of Madaba, dated to 603, refers to the gentle and benign character of the bishop's constructions (τὸ πρᾶον θαύμαζε τῶν κτισμάτων), to the virtue of his works (τῶν πόνων τὴν ἀρετὴν), and to the beauty with which he endowed the site (τῷ τόπῳ τὴν περιφάδη τέθηκεν εὐκοσμίαν).[2304] The *Life* of St. John the Almsgiver shows the bishops' changing attitude to the construction of churches. The hagiographer draws on ancient civic vocabulary to describe the desire of the Patriarch of Jerusalem to rebuild the churches destroyed by the Persians (φιλονικεῖ), obviously to contrast it with the modesty of John the Almsgiver, who chose not to inscribe his name as a benefactor on restored churches. Instead, he preferred that Christ write his name "where the registration of names is truly blessed". The hagiographer concludes that with the construction of hostels, shelters for the elderly and monasteries, St. John the Almsgiver acquired a memorial commemorating his righteousness (ἄληκτον ὄντως δικαιοσύνης πληθὺν εἰς αἰῶνας ἑαυτῷ ἐκκύρεται) through good deeds.[2305]

The benefactor par excellence was, of course, the emperor (Figure 54). Priscian, in his *Panegyric* to Anastasius, praises the emperor for his piety in building and restoring churches.[2306] In the *ekphrasis* of St. Sophia by Paul Silentiarius, the lengthy iambic introduction (vv. 1-80) is a praise in honour of Justinian. Church construction by the emperor was invested with such profound symbolism that mention was made of it in ecclesiastical hymns.[2307] During the reign of Justinian there seems to have been competition between the emperor and the aristocrats for the glory to be derived from church construction. Justinian's legendary statement that the magnificence of the Church of St. Sophia surpassed the temple of Solomon may have indirectly alluded to the Church of St. Polyeuctus built by Juliana

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[2300] Feissel and Philippides-Braat, Inventaires, 296-297 (no. 38). On the much discussed meaning of the word ἰσοδίκτος of the inscription see G. Velenis, Η επιγραφή του Θύρσου στην Τεγέα ως πηγή πληροφοριών, *SBMAT* 24, 2004, 20-21.

[2301] Welles, Inscriptions, no. 305 (pp. 479-480).

[2302] Kitzinger, Mosaics at Nikopolis, 87.

[2303] W. Büttel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa* I (Bonn 1987), no. 621 (sixth century).

[2304] *IGSyr* XXI/2, no. 140 (a. 603).

[2305] *Vita S. Iohannis Eleemosyn.*, c. 18 (p. 366), 57.39-44 (p. 404).

[2306] Priscian, *Panegyricus Anastasii*, vv. 268-269: Templa novans renovansque Deo fulgentia semper / lacrasque vera pietatis munera summere iuste.

[2307] Romanus Melodus, c. 54.23.1-9.

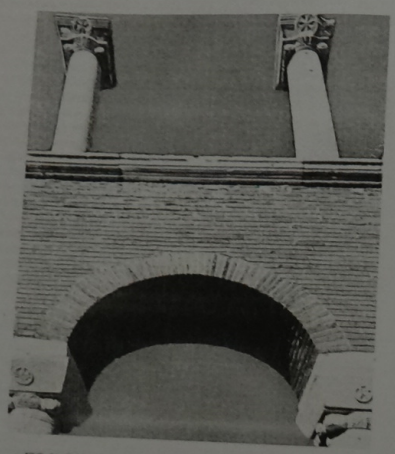

FIG. 54. Columns of the Church of St. John in Ephesus, built by Justinian, displaying the monogram of the imperial couple.

Anicia.[2308] Justinian wished to monopolize the construction of churches, as is implied in a statement of Procopius that "it was not possible, during the reign of this Emperor, for any church either to be built for the first time or to be restored when it had fallen into disrepair except with imperial funds, not alone in Byzantium, but in every part of the Roman empire".[2309] In reality, Novel 67 indicates that private individuals continued to display their munificence through church construction. Overall, however, the

[2308] *Anthologia Graeca* I.10.48-49; Corippus, *In laudem Iustini* IV.283 (p. 81), and pp. 204-205. See also Romanus Melodus, *c.* 54.21 referring to St. Sophia. R. M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul* (Princeton 1986), I, 417, 418-420; idem, *A Temple for Byzantium: The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul* (London 1989), 36-41, 137-139. On the political message of the church: G. Fowden, Constantine, Silvester and the Church of S. Polyeuctus in Constantinople, *JRA* 7 (1994), 274-284.

[2309] Procopius, *De aedificiis* I.8.5: οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦτου βασιλεύοντος ἐκκλησίαν τινὰ ἢ γενεσθαι τὸ παράπαν, ἢ καταστατοποιεῖν ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, ἐπὶ μὴ ἐκ χρημάτων βασιλικῶν, οὐκ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

evidence points to an increasing interest on the part of emperors in ecclesiastical patronage and in works of fortification, instead of secular public buildings.[2310]

The most famous private church benefactor of the sixth century was Juliana Anicia. Epigram I.10 of the *Greek Anthology* stresses the generosity displayed by Juliana in her erection of the Church of St. Polyeuctus (between 524-527), which stood on the site of an earlier church built by empress Eudoxia, Juliana's grandmother. The central theme of the lengthy epigram is the glorification of Juliana's ancestors, of herself and the descendents of her family. Her works "are eternally remembered. For the works of piety are not hidden; oblivion doth not quench the labours of beneficent virtue" (vv. 27-29).

> Following by her good works all the footsteps of her parents she made the fame of her race immortal, always walking in the whole path of piety. Therefore, all ye servants of the Heavenly King to whom she gave gifts or built temples, preserve her gladly with her son and his daughters, and may the immeasurable glory of the most beneficent family survive as long as the Sun drives his burning chariot (vv. 34-41).

It is only in the last three lines of the inscription at the entrance of the church outside the narthex, that Juliana's munificence is viewed from a purely Christian perspective, namely in relation to spiritual reward after death:

> Such is the labour that Juliana, after a countless swarm of labours, accomplished for the souls of her parents, and for her own life, and for that of those who are and shall be (vv. 74-76).[2311]

Worldly glory, which the aristocrat benefactor could expect to gain by erecting churches, was a recognized motivation for Christian munificence in the sixth century. The epigram on the construction of the Church of St. Polyeuctus makes clear that Juliana's act of euergetism was intended to emphasize her royal lineage and her political ambitions for her son. In the Vienna manuscript of Dioscorides (fol. 6v.), Juliana Anicia is presented in ancient imagery and is assigned ancient virtues: she is depicted seated between the personifications of Prudence (φρόνησις), who holds a codex and Magnanimity (μεγαλοψυχία) who holds gold coins in her lap. To the lower left side, the personification of the Gratitude of the Arts (εὐχαριστία τεχνῶν) kneels at her feet, and the personification of Desire for Devotion to Building (πόθος τῆς φιλοικοδομίας) holds an open book on which Juliana drops gold coins. Verse 30 of the inscription of *Greek Anthology* I.10, which mentions Juliana's benevolent hand, corresponds to the gesture of the figure in the manuscript illumination. The outer spaces of the border formed by the eight-pointed star inscribed in a circle contain images of carpenters and masons. According to the dedication, this manuscript was a present of the inhabitants of a suburb of Constantinople where she built a church (a. 512/3). Similar to the vocabulary of the epigram on St. Polyeuctus' church is that of other epigrams commemorating the adornment of the Church of St. Euphemia of Olybrius, built by Eudoxia, restored by her daughter Placidia, and further adorned by Juliana. The purpose of Juliana's munificence was to honour the memory (ἕνεκε μνήμης) of her parents and of her grandmother. Thanks to her action in restoring the church, however, she has surpassed the glory of her ancestors.[2312] Imperial munificence is praised in similar terms: in the Metaphrastic *Life* of St. Sampson, the saint asks Justinian to finance a

[2310] See supra, p. 151.

[2311] Transl. W. R. Paton.

[2312] *Anthologia Graeca* I.12.7-10; I.17.

hospital in Constantinople, an act that will commemorate his name for ever and bring him heavenly rewards (τοῦτο γὰρ σοι δοίδωσιν ὄνομα θῆρα καὶ ἀρόξεταρα μισθὸν ἀναμαίρετον).[2313]

Other epigrams commemorating donations of wealthy donors show that intense secular concerns motivated aristocratic munificence.[2314] In some of them it is stated that the reasons for church construction included honouring God, spiritual benefit, the hope that worldly needs will be answered through prayer, and aesthetic satisfaction, all notions familiar from earlier texts:

> Honouring the King of Kings, Christ, with his works, Justinian built this glorious temple to Peter and Paul, for by giving honour to His servants a man offereth great glory to the King Himself. Here is profit for the soul and for the eyes. Let each get what he hath need of by his prayers, and take joy in looking at the beauty and splendour of the house.[2315]

Some inscriptions repeat the wording of prayers from the liturgy, as, for example, "for the salvation of and in the hope of long life for the masters" (ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ μακροημερεύσεως τῶν δεσποτῶν).[2316] A number of inscriptions from the sixth-century monastery, founded by the aristocrat Maria, by the walls of Scythopolis are rich in elaborate formulations regarding the spiritual and worldly expectations of the upper class donors. In one, the benefaction (προσφορά) is said to commemorate (ὑπὲρ μνήμης) Zosimus, illustrius, and to ensure his perfect rest in Christ (καὶ τελείας ἐν Χριστῷ ἀνεκτάσεως) and the salvation and succour (καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀντλήψεως) of John, the most glorious ex-prefect, and of *komes* Peter and *komes* Anastasius and of their blessed house (οἶκος), through the prayers of the saints. In another inscription the donor asks for God's protection for the ex-prefect John and his blessed *oikos* (οἰκέτη καὶ ἀντιλήπτης γενοῦ), through the prayers of the saints. In another, mercy is asked for Maria and her son Maximus and rest for their parents.[2317]

Most of the inscriptions in the sixth century commemorating donations to churches present Christian euergetism in predominantly Christian terms, and in many ways they contrast with ancient civic euergetism.[2318] They also show an evolution from the fourth to the sixth century in the vocabulary expressing the benefactors' attitudes. A major significant change is to be observed in the use of the term φιλοτιμία, which lost its ancient meaning of love of honour, so that in the Byzantine inscriptions it simply indicates a donation.[2319] Some inscriptions mention forgiveness of sins (ὑπὲρ συγχωρήσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, or συγχώρησον τὰς ἁμαρτίας), and salvation (ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας) of benefactors and their children, and of their deceased parents (ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως).[2320] Another formulation is μνήσθη or ὑπὲρ μνήμης, or ποίησον ἔλεος. Most of the formulas projecting such ideas draw on Jewish concepts rather than on the ancient euergetic tradition. But the most striking difference from ancient euergetism is that many Christian donors in the sixth century wished to remain anonymous, probably because it was believed that their names were anyway written in the Book of Life. The formulation is

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[2313] *PG* 115, 289A.

[2314] *Anthologia Graeca* I.35, 36. For Italy see Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 73 ff.

[2315] *Anthologia Graeca* I.8 (transl. W. R. Paton).

[2316] *IGSyr* XXI/2, no. 43 (6th c.); see also no. 54.

[2317] Fitzgerald, *Monastery*, 13-14.

[2318] For the West see J.-P. Caillet, *L'evergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges d'après l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IV-VIII s.)* (Rome 1993), 450 and passim; Duval, *Loca Sanctorum*, 592-593.

[2319] See also Novelle 147.2 (a. 553).

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standard: οὗ or ὧν Θεὸς οἶδεν or γινώσκει τὸ ὄνομα or τὰ ὀνόματα. Many inscriptions contain this formula.[2321] The trend coincides with the disappearance of family names from funerary inscriptions from the end of the sixth century. This may be a manifestation of Christian modesty or it may be evidence of the trend by which only the Christian name was used, thus making it impossible to identify the person in question. The assumption was, of course, that the deceased was known to God alone, and that nothing more was necessary. Individual donors, especially those of the middle and low classes, often sponsored part of the construction or renovation work on churches. Some inscriptions mention the amount paid for a specified part of the church decoration and the donor's vows.[2322]

By the sixth century, the expressions of munificence on the part of benefactors in most of the inscriptions had assumed a purely Christian character. They stress the spiritual benefits to be expected from financing the construction of churches, salvation of the donors' souls and of the members of their families; they acknowledge that a wish has been granted and in recognition of gratitude they sponsor construction or renovation work on churches.[2323] Christian munificence contrasts radically with earlier ancient civic euergetism. While the pagans' concern was solely temporal glory, and expectation of material rewards for a donation, the Christians' principal aim was to receive salvation for themselves and their parents; while pagan munificence was usually exclusively personal, the Christians insisted on benefit to the family. Once again it becomes evident that Christianity had shifted people's interests and concerns from secular building, and the temporal glory associated with it, to religious constructions and spiritual rewards after death. Indeed, church construction was increasingly replacing ancient public building. After the reign of Justinian, inscriptions from the provinces of Palaestina and Arabia (today's southern Syria, Israel and Jordan), which have provided more inscriptions than any other province, indicate that almost all the construction projects undertaken were ecclesiastical. For secular construction the evidence is either inconclusive or indicates that only restoration work was carried out.[2324] Of major importance is the evidence showing that contributions by the Apions were directed to churches in areas where they possessed land and were more numerous than those allocated to city institutions.[2325]

Aristocratic benefactors who in the past were commemorated in statuary in public places, such as porticoes, markets and baths were now commemorated in churches.[2326] They are represented together

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[2321] Phil. 4.3: ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς; *Vita S. Theodori Choretaii*, c. 25 (p. 11.23); *Vita S. Simeonis Stylitae Iun.*, c. 9.9-10 (p. 10); 109.5-8 (p. 89); 124.6 (p. 106); Cyril of Scythopolis, 99.28-29; Dagron and Feissel, *Inscriptions*, 116 n. 7; Asemakopoulou-Atzaka, Dorites, 245. P. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie* (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgique 1988), 474 suggests that the expressions employing the verb καρτοφορεῖν refer to funds from the community extracted as contributions by the Church. See, however, L. Di Segni, Khirbet El-Beiyédah: The Inscriptions, in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 265-273, esp. 268-271: in some inscriptions the reference to personal uals made for the purpose of contributing to or renovating the Church. See, however, L. Di Segni, Khirbet El-Beiyédah: The funds donated for church construction is accompanied by the term καρτοφορεῖν. The frequent appearance of the same verb in inscriptions is perhaps to be explained from its use in the most popular liturgy of the Holy Land, that of St. James.

[2322] Asemakopoulou-Atzaka, Dorites, 241-242.

[2323] *IGSyr* IV, no. 1684; XXI/2, nos. 145, 146.

[2324] Di Segni, Epigraphic documentation, 159, 164.

[2325] Alston, *The City*, 313-314.

[2326] B. Hamarneh, Ritratti e immagini di donatori nei mosaici della Giordania, *ACAC XIII* (1966), II, 411-422; L.-A. Hunt, The Byzantine Mosaics of Jordan in Context: Remarks on Imagery, Donors and Mosaicists, *PEQ* 126 (1994), 106-126; P. Bauman, *Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land. Darstellungen und Inschriften auf Bodenmosaiken in Kirchen, Synagogen und Privathäusern* (Wiesbaden 1999). For the representation of donors in the chapel of the amphitheatre of Dyrrachium in Albania see N. Thierry, Une mosaïque à Dyrrachium, *CahArch* 18 (1968), 227-229; J. Reynes-Janlo, La mosaïque murale datée de la chapelle de l'amphithéâtre de Dyrrachium, *Iliria* 13 (1983), 225-232; I. Nikolajević, Images votives de Salone et de Dyrrachium, *Zbornik Radova* 19 (1980), 59-70 dates the mosaic in the sixth century. Contrary, for a later date: M. Andaloro, I mosaici parietali

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with images of Christ, the Virgin and saints.[227] Literary sources also describe depictions of donors in churches. Choricius refers to the portrait of *archon* Stephanus who, together with bishop Marcian, sponsored the construction of the Church of St. Sergius in Gaza. A mosaic in the central apse depicted the Virgin and Child, flanked by various figures, and Stephanus standing by the saint asking him to accept his gift. The saint was shown consenting and raising his hand to his shoulder, as if about to mediate with the Virgin and Christ on behalf of the benefactor. The construction of the church is viewed as a means of seeking the saint's mediation for salvation. In the Church of St. Stephanus, bishop Marcian was depicted holding a model of the church opposite St. John the Baptist.[228] The *Miracles* of Saints Cyrus and Johannes record another case. The *apo epartchon* Nemesion, who practiced astrology, was chosen by the saints to play a role in a miracle performed by them on a poor blind man. Nemesion consequently adorned part of the wall of the saints' martyrium with marbles and an image depicting Christ, St. John the Baptist, St. Cyrus and himself proclaiming the blessing.[229] This trend towards depicting the donors on mosaics or frescoes contrasts with the modesty of the language of the inscriptions and anonymity that was so often preferred by the donors. The inscriptions express a prayer for the donors drawn from the liturgy and so function as a memorial, thus adding a liturgical function to the text and to the image of the benefactors.

The process of the development was slow. Christianity, with its emphasis on spiritual rewards and anonymity, created the conditions and the ideological foundation for a reorientation of the aristocratic munificence from the public towards the private, from temporal glory in the urban content towards spiritual concerns and anonymity. While members of the upper class, including bishops, maintained the ancient vocabulary of temporal glory longer, the change of ideas and of language was completed during the course of the sixth century, both in the inscriptions and in the representations of donors. The members of the upper class had by then given up their traditional role in the urban communities. They no longer had any interest in funding displays of secular building activities, in return for secular glory. Their spiritual concerns, as expressed in church inscriptions, were in agreement with the message of the Church. Both in terms of urban topography and in terms of the socio-economics behind it, the aristocracy was increasingly identified with the Church. Members of the upper class constructed private chapels and churches on their estates and in their houses. Members of the clergy and bishops were recruited from the urban élite.[230] There was a relationship between the architecture and decoration of upper-class dwellings and churches.[231] The new urban élite, which by the sixth century had been profoundly Christianized and, most importantly, had become part of the ecclesiastical establishment, no longer had affinities with ancient civic life and had no reason to continue maintaining ancient civic buildings. Rather, the new urban élite expressed a new culture and ideology, which had altered urban architecture, the function of buildings, and the priorities of the individuals and of urban communities.

Sources offer accounts of how the funds for construction, restoration and furnishing of churches were collected and who contributed. Severus delivered his 100th Homily to raise funds to plate the

di Durazzo o dell'origine costantinopolitana del tema iconografico di Maria regina, in O. Feld and U. Peschlow (eds.), *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst* (Bonn 1986), vol. 3, 103-112.

[227] R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London 1985), 50-94; Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 81-84.

[228] Choricius, *Or.* I.30, 31 (p. 10), II.38 (p. 38).

[229] Νεμεσίων δὲ τῶν μὲ βλεβῆς ἐκ τοῦ θείματος, μέρος τι τοῦ τοίχου κόψῃσιν τοῦ μνήματος μαρμάρῳς ἐκόσμησεν, Χριστὸν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Βαπτιστὴν τε καὶ τιμίθρεμον καὶ Κῦρον τυπώσας τὸν μάρτυρα, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ τοίχῳ μέρει περιστήσας; *Miracula SS. Cyri et Iohannis, mir.* 28.12 (p. 297).

[230] See *supra*, p. 168.

[231] Scolari, L'habitat urbain, 388-389; S. Ćurčić, House or House of God? Planning Ambiguities in Byzantine Architecture, in *SBMAT* 24, 2004, 24-25.

cupola of the altar of the Church of St. Domn in Antioch with silver. He urged the wealthy members of his flock to contribute one pound of silver each. The amount was insignificant for each one of them, but put together, he states, these contributions could finance the completion of the work. Severus points to the tremendous wealth of some Christians, those who recline on elevated beds and take their meals from silver plates served by numerous servants. He also appeals to wealthy women who go to the baths with silver objects weighing many pounds of silver and who are carried in public on thrones covered with silver to such a degree that even the bridle of the horses were covered with silver.[232] Any one of them alone has enough silver to pay attention to the needs of the church, he states. In Edessa, bishop Cyrus exhorted the citizens to make a small silver *kitter* (κιττίκιον) for eucharistic vessels. All citizens contributed depending on their means, while one wealthy man donated a hundred "dinars" of his own property.[233] The amount contributed by common people, however, for mosaics is recorded in only a few sixth-century inscriptions from Greece. The donations of one solidus or half a solidus attested in these inscriptions could apparently finance the work for some days for a small-size mosaic.[234]

Dedications to churches were regarded a secure investment, for it was assumed that divine protection would be offered to treasures deposited in churches. According to Gregory of Tours, Juliana Anicia placed her wealth in the Church of St. Polyeuctus to impede Justinian from appropriating it. This became a trend.[235] Dedications to churches were various in nature: gold and silver, garments and slaves, cattle and fields. Prefect Phocas endowed a church in Galatia with an annual subsidy of 90 solidi for the priests and the personnel, and Eliamus donated 20 pounds of gold.[236] In Egypt papyri offer more details. Donations included land, houses, workshops, ships, silver, dresses, vases, furniture, wheat, wine, oil, raisin, animals, even (from the eighth century) children and the donors themselves. Donations were made by middle and lower class Christians, while the very wealthy, such as the Apions, who built private churches for their peasants, donated agricultural products and money, but no land.[237] Procopius describes the wealth of the churches of heretics:

> Now the shrines of these heretics as they are called and particularly those who practised the Arian belief, contained wealth unheard-of. For neither the entire Senate nor any other major group of the Roman State could be compared with these sanctuaries in point of wealth. For they had treasures of gold and of silver and ornaments set with precious stones, beyond telling or counting, houses and villages in great numbers, and a large amount of land in all parts of the world, and every other form of wealth which exists and has a name among all mankind, since no man who had ever reigned previously had ever disturbed them.[238]

We get glimpses of the wealth of such donations from several precious objects that came to light. Even rural sites reveal numerous silver dedications to rural churches.[239]

[232] Severus, *Hom.* 106, *PO* 22/2 (1930), 247.

[233] Joshua the Stylite, c. 28 (p. 18, a. 496-497).

[234] Asemakopoulou-Atzaka, Dorines, 240.

[235] Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Martyrum*, c. 103 and 97, *PL* 71, col. 795-795, 796 referring to the church of St. Sergius in Sergiopolis.

[236] John Lydus, *De magistratibus* III.74.

[237] Wipszycka, *Les ressources*, 29, 64-92.

[238] Procopius, *Historia arcana* XI.16-18. Other references to the wealth of churches: Procopius, *De Bello Persico* II.11.24 (Apamea), II.20.7 (Sergiopolis), II.9.15 (Antioch).

[239] M. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium. The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore, Md. 1986); idem,

According to John of Ephesus, the construction expenses of churches and monasteries in newly converted villages, where private donations were not possible, were met partly by imperial funding and partly by taxes.[2340] The construction of private churches and monasteries also promoted a community spirit, because it was accomplished through the cooperative efforts of the community. John Chrysostom advised the landlords to build at least one small church or to begin the construction of one, so that others, wishing to compete (ἄμιλλαν ποιήσασθε τοῦ πράγματος), would complete the construction by adding stoas and various other appendages.[2341] Other texts show how people, monks and artisans contributed with voluntary work, in some cases after they had been miraculously cured from diseases by local saints.[2342] Justinian stipulated that if the heirs of a deceased donor did not continue the construction work of the sponsored church, and if the bishops showed neglect, then the metropolitan or the archbishop should complete the work and any citizen who wished could contribute. Since the work of piety was a matter that affected the whole community, its completion was also a responsibility of the community.[2343] Here obligation toward private religious foundations is not justified in legal terms. Rather, it is conveyed in terms of the social functions of private churches. Private and public blur both in terms of religious function and status,[2344] and in terms of financial sponsorship. Religious confraternities (*philiakon, spoudaioi, philoponoi*) were also involved.[2345] Finally, the universal function of the churches may have played a role in the creation of this spirit of community obligation in relation to church construction. In contrast to the public and exclusive character of the ancient urban temples – exclusive since the majority of peasants and strangers were excluded – the role of the Christian churches was private and universal. Architecturally, too, the churches in smaller towns did not resemble public buildings, being distinguished from private houses only by the red tiles of their roofs.[2346] The universal character of the churches is also apparent in some dedicatory inscriptions, where the vow for mercy and salvation extends to "all the people".[2347]

Churches: the new urban foci

Churches marked the urban landscape as major architectural units and became points of reference in urban topography. The ancient names of streets were abandoned and replaced with the names of local

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The Origins of the Syrian Ecclesiastical Silver Treasures of the Sixth-Seventh Centuries, in F. Baratte (ed.) *Argenterie romaine et byzantine. Actes de la Table Ronde, Paris 11-13 octobre 1983* (Paris 1988), 163-184; S. A. Boyd and M. Mundell Mango (eds.), *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium. Papers of the Symposium Held May 16-18, 1986 at The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.* (Washington, D. C. 1992); Procopius, *De aedificiis* I.1.65 estimates the original sanctuary furnishing of St. Sophia at 40,000 pounds of silver; Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreibungen*, Paul Silentiarius, *Ekphrasis of St. Sophia*, vv. 720-754 states that the altar was of gold with gold columns and a ciborium of silver.

[2340] F. Nau, Analyse de la seconde partie inédite de l'Histoire ecclésiastique de Jean d'Asie, *ROC* 2 (1897), 482.

[2341] *PG* 60, 148.

[2342] For example, *Vita S. Hypatii*, c. 12.13 (p. 120); Cyril of Scythopolis, 205.15-19; *Vita S. Symeonis Stylitae Iun.*, c. 108 (p. 88: a monk worked the sculptured capitals of the columns of the church of St. Symeon), 96 (pp. 74-75). See C. Mango, Isaurian Builders, in P. Wirth (ed.), *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg 1966), 358-365. P.-L. Gatier and F. Villeneuve, Nouvelles mosaïques inscrites de Jordanie, *Syria* 70 (1993), 4-5 (no. 1): the villagers provided the salaries of the artisans and workers.

[2343] κοινοῦ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγου κοινὰς προσήκει καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς τῆς τούτου καθεστάναι πληρώσεως: *CJ* 1.3.45.6 (a. 530).

[2344] G. Dagron, Constantinople. Les sanctuaires et l'organisation de la vie religieuse. Topographie chrétienne, *ACAC XI (1986)*, II, 1069-1085, esp. 1080 ff.

[2345] J. Russell, *The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium* (Vienna 1987), no. 11 (p. 61-64), late fifth or sixth century.

[2346] Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 200; B. de Vries, Jordan's Churches. Their Urban Context in Late Antiquity, *BibArch* 51 (1988), 225.

[2347] Piccirillo, *Chiese*, 86 (Ὑλήρον πάντος τοῦ κόσμου: church of the Virgin in Rihab; 533).

churches, as, for example, ἡ ὕψωη τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας, ἀμφοδος τῆς ἁγίας Εὐφημίας, ὁδὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου, τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου.[2348] The only ancient urban institution that survived in the Middle Ages, the baths, was frequently built adjacent to churches, so as to serve the poor, the sick and strangers.[2349] Merchants established their booths outside churches and sold products to worshippers.[2350] Archaeology confirms the information of the written sources: the marks of postholes on the pavement of the forum of Iol Caesarea and in Philippi in Greece, point to the location of merchants' temporary booths associated with churches.[2351] Often plazas and *exedrai* with permanent markets were formed in front of churches.[2352] Around early Byzantine churches, new centres of economic and social activities were created. In many sites shops are found next to churches and they were either owned by the Church or served the Christians who visited them. The connection of churches with the production and distribution of goods through shops and workshops continues a pagan tradition. Pagan temples operated workshops to produce goods to serve the temples' needs or those of the worshippers.[2353] The sources, particularly papyri, show, however, that in the Christian era the economic activities of the Church increased greatly and were widespread in comparison with those of pagan temples. Besides, charitable institutions attached to churches included space for various economic activities, especially stores where wheat, oil, wine and other products for distribution to the poor were kept.[2354] Archaeology illustrates the economic activities of churches, and those organized around them. For example, there was a large building, probably the bishop's palace, with a basement and two storeys adjoining the Basilica Chrysopolitissa in Paphos, Cyprus. The basement was used as a store for mosaic tesserae, pottery and olives.[2355] A glass shop and a large pottery shop were established near Basilica B in Thessalian Thebes (Nea Anchialos) at the end of the fifth century. The buildings attached to Basilica C located at the city's northwest corner, were centres of production and trade or charitable institutions.[2356] Also at Philippi the bishop's complex, with numerous adjoining buildings, was a centre of economic activities.[2357] Inscribed sets of scales identifying ownership of churches have often been found and suggest economic activities connected with churches. Furthermore, amphorae have been found with inscriptions indicating that they belonged to the Church and that the content was produced on Church estates.[2358] At Gerasa, in the centre of the courtyard of the temple of Artemis, next to the central ecclesiastical complex of the cathedral, shops were built in the fifth to sixth century to the northeast, between the cardo and the monumental staircase, and to the east. Lamps and lamp moulds with Christian decoration were found in the pottery shop in the court of the temple of Artemis dating to the end of the fifth century, and were obviously being sold to Christians visiting the adjacent cathedral. North of the cathedral and the Fountain Court, installations for glass production date to after the sixth century. In the area between the atrium of

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[2348] *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67314.8 (p. 98); *P.Oxy.* VII 1038.22-23 (p. 568).

[2349] See supra, pp. 328-330, 343.

[2350] *Vita S. Symeonis Sali*, 80.3 (τὰ ταβλία τῶν πλακουντοπωλῶν); *Miracula SS. Cyri et Iohannis*, *mir.* 28.9 (p. 297) (τὰς ἀπιόρας ἀφὸ τοῦ νεῶ . . . ἐπίπησασε). See also infra, pp. 427-429.

[2351] See supra, p. 192.

[2352] See supra, p. 214.

[2353] See supra, pp. 214-216.

[2354] Wipszycka, *Les ressources*, 57-63, 112.

[2355] *BCH* 112 (1988), 841.

[2356] P. Lazarides, *PAE* 1960, 60-66, 1985, 51-54; Soteriou, Thebes, 103.

[2357] S. Pelekanides, Ἀνασκαφαὶ Φιλίππων, *PAE* 1969, 43-48; G. Gounaris et al., Ἀνασκαφὴ Ὀκταγώνου Φιλίππων, *PAE* 1981/1, 14-17.

[2358] For example, a balance from the church of St. Sergius at Daphne, now in the museum of Antioch, with the inscription: + τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου εἰς τὴν τιμὴν (*IGSyr* III/2, no. 1074); on a pithos: Soteriou, Thebes, 103; amphorae with the inscription Θεοῦ χάρις κέφδος: *SEG* 42 (1992), 666-670, 672-673, 678-679, 1508-1514.

the Church of St. Theodore and the temple of Artemis, House V belonged to a potter or lamp-maker, as did house II (supra, p. 286, Plan 29).[2359] Similar arrangements also appear in small towns of the East. At Samra, in the Negev, located between Philadelphia and Bostra (50 km northeast of Amman), two of the churches, built only 15 m apart, had adjacent shops and other structures. It has been observed that, once churches were established at Samra, they organized various economic activities in their immediate vicinity.[2360] The impact of Christianity on the economy of the Negev cities was major, and it has been suggested that the development of monastic communities in the desert and the construction of urban churches account for the flourishing of these urban centres.[2361] The sponsorship of economic activities by the Church was a general phenomenon in the East and in the West, where part of the empire's production centres for pottery, glass and bricks were connected with churches.[2362]

Storage rooms for agricultural produce and installations for processing agricultural products, such as oil and wine presses, were also operated by the Church. Examples are known from various cities, although archaeological reports do not always offer precise dating, and some appear to have been established in the period of profound urban crisis during the invasions. Among such finds are storage rooms in the bishop's complex of the Octagon at Philippi and wine presses, a wine press in a room adjoining the atrium of the basilica of Dion outside the walls dating to the middle of the sixth century, wine and olive presses by the wall of Louloudies to the northwest of the bishop's palace, and large oil and wine presses in the bishop's complex at Salona. Furthermore, in the large Gymnasium of Samos two early Byzantine basilicas were built. One, dating to the reign of Justinian, was part of a large monastic complex with a basilica, atrium, baptistery, a banqueting-hall, a cemetery, and rooms. There were also oil and wine presses, storage rooms containing amphorae for processing grain, and a kiln for the production of lime. Observations of the type of amphorae used for storage suggest that they may have been used to supply the army.[2363] The famous Huilerie in Salamis-Constantia in Cyprus, close to the basilica of Campanopetra, was a two-storey luxury palace. It became the bishop's administrative centre with an audience hall, a chapel in the basement, and shops on the southern side. An inscription on the northern portico of the court φρούριον λίτρα refers to the grain tax due. After its abandonment, an oil press was established in the palace. At Peyia-Agios Georgios in Cyprus, an olive press operated in the annexes of Basilica C.[2364] Similarly, just south of the temple of Aphrodisias, which had been converted into a church, the building, that has been identified with some reservations as the bishop's palace, was later turned into a centre for the production of wine and olive oil. Numerous pithoi and wine and olive presses were found there. An oil press was established in a cave at Gerasa, west of the atrium of the Church of St. Theodore probably after the construction of the church in the end of the fifth century.[2365]

[2359] C. S. Fisher, The Temple of Artemis, in Kraeling, *Gerasa*, 125-138; Crowfoot, Christian Churches, 217; Fisher, Buildings, 284, 286-287.

[2360] J.-B. Humbert, Khirbet es-Samra 1981-82, *Syria* 60 (1983), 312.

[2361] P. Mayerson, Palestina Tertia Pilgrims and Urbanization, *Cathedra* 45 (1987), 19-40 [in Hebrew].

[2362] R. Martorelli, Riflessioni sulle attività produttive nell'età tardoantica e altomedievale: esiste un artigianato "ecclesiastico"?, *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 75 (1999), 572-596.

[2363] S. Petrakakidis, *PAE* 1967, 74; Soteriou, Thebes, 103; A. Mentzos, Η κοιμητηριακή βασιλική του Δίου. Τα προσκτίσματα, *AEMT* 6 (1992), 240; E. Markl, Συμπεράσματα από τις ανασκαφές της 9ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων στη Βόρειο Πιερία, *AEMT* 10 (1996), 240; Dyggve, *Salonian Christianity*, 29-30; E. Marin, in Sabina, *Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone. Catalogue de la sculpture architecturale paléochrétienne de Salone*, eds. N. Duval, E. Marin and C. Metzger (Rome-Split 1994), I, p. XXI: "Mais, ces premiers témoignent également d'une certaine façon de la ruralisation de la ville, s'ils sont bien du VIe s. et non du début du VIIe s."; W. Martini and C. Steckner, *Das Gymnasium von Samos. Das frühbyzantinische Klosterpur* (Bonn 1995, *Samos* XVII), XIII-XV, 143-186, 189-194; C. Stockner, Les amphores LR 1 et LR 2 en relation avec le pressoir du complexe ecclésiastique des thermes de Samos, in Déroche and Spieser, *Céramique*, 57-71.

[2364] Argoud et al., *L. Inédite*, 39 (the inscription); Ch. Bakirtzis, Peyia-Agios Georgios, *BCH* 120 (1996), 1094.

[2365] Ertus, *Apokoulias*, 64; Fisher, Buildings, 282, 294.

Churches located in the countryside in villages or at some distance from settlements were also attached to presses. For example, a room with an olive press was attached to the atrium of the Church of St. Bacchus in the countryside near Kh. Sheikh 'Ali Malikina in Jordan (identified as Betomelgezis, in the area of Diospolis and depicted on the Madaba map) and operated in the Byzantine and Umayyad periods.[2366] Monasteries in urban centres were also equipped with installations for processing agricultural products, mills and presses. For example, a hospice for pilgrims included a cistern and an oil press inside the Justinianic wall, at Tiberias, on top of Mount Berenice. At Shivta (Esbeita) in the Negev, buildings with agricultural structures were attached to the North Church, which was probably a monastery.[2367] Monastic communities, both in the countryside and in cities, had all the fittings and supplies of a micro-economy, which offered the community self-sufficiency and alleviation from external concerns.[2368] In addition, the urban population relied on the food supplies of monasteries, especially during periods of famine and enemy invasions. During the Persian attack on Amaseia, the inhabitants of the surrounding areas and cities sought refuge inside the walls. The hagiographer of the *Life* of St. Eutychius explains that they did not rely so much on the city's fortifications as on the saint's prayers, a statement whose meaning is made clear by the reference to supplies in the monastery of the saint, capable of feeding many people.

In recent studies, attention has been paid to the agricultural activities in which churches and monasteries were involved. The scope of these activities included feeding their own members and those in need through philanthropic institutions and exporting foodstuffs.[2369] In North African cities in Tunisia and Tripolitania, oil presses appear in the urban centres during the Vandal and Byzantine periods. Only five presses are dated, and they belong to the sixth to seventh centuries. These were attached to churches and were located in various sites of the cities, in the forum, in residential districts and on the city periphery. The Church was clearly the major force in organizing production activities during this period.[2370]

Churches were more than places for prayer and opportunities for business, or centres for the production or distribution of goods. Announcements of interest to the community were also made at them, and from the fifth century imperial decrees were announced to the public in churches. Imperial decrees were inscribed in the churches of the Virgin and of St. John in Ephesus,[2371] whilst festivals and celebrations of other joyful public events were organized in churches. Some administrative functions of civil officers were also held in churches. The governor of Edessa, Alexander, sat regularly every Friday in the Church of St. John the Baptist and St. Addai the Apostle, to judge legal cases free of charge. This initiative gave him popular support, since it encouraged the poor and socially weak to take their cases to the governor.[2372] Indeed, the church was the ideal location from which to establish social justice. The Patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almsgiver, sat before the church every Wednesday and Friday, assisted by a pair of men of virtue, and, holding the holy Gospels in his hands, he would settle disputes, so helping those who suffered injustice.[2373] In periods of crisis, efforts to bring relief to the population were coor-

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[2366] Dahari, Betomelgezis, 248.

[2367] Y. Hirschfeld, Tiberias, *ESI* 16 (1997), 36; idem, The Anchor Church at the Summit of Mt. Berenice, Tiberias, *Bib. Arch.* 57 (1994), 126; idem, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (New Haven, Conn. and London 1992), 106-111; A. Segal, *The Byzantine City of Shivta (Esbeita). Negev Desert, Israel (BAR Int. Series* 179, Oxford 1983), 156; B. Brenk, Monasteries as Rural Settlements: Patron-Dependence or Self-Sufficiency?, *LAA* 2 (2004), 447-476.

[2368] *Vita S. Theodoti* coen., 34.19-14 . . . τὰ πανταῦθα τῶν τεχνῶν ἐργαστήριον εἰς κοινὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ πᾶν, στρ ἀναγκαῖον ἔνδον παρέχουσα χρείαν καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν χάριν τοῦτου ἐλευθεροῦσα πειρωμένη.

[2369] Kingsley and Decker, Exchange, 10-11 with examples from various sites.

[2370] Leone, Topographies, 264-269, 275, 277.

[2371] Lavan, Political Topography, 324.

[2372] Joshua the Stylite, c. 34 (p. 24); c. 31 (p. 22); c. 29 (p. 20) (x. 496-497).

[2373] *Vita S. Iohannis Eleemosyn.*, c. 4 (p. 349).

dinated in the churches. The inhabitants of Edessa collected money in their church to ransom the citizens of Antioch taken captives by Chosroes.[2274]

The churches played an increasingly major role in promoting imperial and aristocratic ideology. Representations of emperors in churches emphasized imperial authority, as is the case with the famous mosaic of San Vitale, or the Church of St. Sergius at Gaza, as described by Choricius.[2275] The narthex of the Church of St. John at Ephesus depicted Theodore *illustrius, magister officiorum* under Justin II and Tiberius, receiving the insignia of the office of proconsul of Asia from an Archangel.[2276] As a result of the decline of ancient buildings serving the municipal administration, the churches begun to play greater role in storing private archives for security, as was the case with the Petra church.[2277] Standards of measures and weights were also often controlled by churches and kept in them. St. John the Almsgiver issued a decree and posted it in each neighbourhood, imposing uniformity of measures in the city of Alexandria.[2278] So much did civic life come to centre on churches that it has been suggested that the role played by the atria of churches, where so many social activities took place, may have contributed to the decline of ancient civic centres.[2279] Philanthropic institutions became increasingly important. Choricius declares that he admires bishop Marcian primarily for having built charitable dwellings (φιλανθρώπους κατοικίσεις), houses for the elderly and poor, old age and poverty being the worst things in life (τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν).[2280] Precious gifts to churches by wealthy individuals were invested in houses for poor foreigners and hospitals.[2281] The changes in the urban landscape that these philanthropic institutions brought about, were only a small part of the story. A major change was gradually occurring at a social level, a shift of emphasis on the part of the established urban élites to the poor[2282] who were ignored by the upper class of the ancient cities.

Christianization of urban time

It was not only urban space, but also urban time that underwent Christianization. By the sixth century the urban calendar was full of Christian festivals. Severus tells us that new festivals had been recently

[2274] Procopius, *De Bello Persico* II.13.3.

[2275] Choricius, *Or.* I.30 (p. 10); Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.1.4-6.

[2276] Grégoire, *Recueil*, no. 100bis; *Anthologia Graeca* I.36.

[2277] See supra, p. 249.

[2278] *Vita S. Iohannis Eleemosyn.*, c. 2 (p. 348).

[2279] Lavan, Political Topography, 325.

[2280] Choricius, *Or.* I.58 (p. 22); Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Sabae*, c. 112 (p. 217): several houses were transformed into residences for wayfarers. Houses for strangers and hospitals were built by St. John the Almsgiver, a hostel for the monks, and for the poor (*Vita S. Iohannis Eleemosyn.*, c. 6, p. 350, c. 23, p. 375, c. 27, p. 378); charitable institutions were attached to the monastery of St. Theodosius coenobiarches and a house for elders and a hospital in Jericho through the donation of a woman (*Vita S. Theodosii coen.*, 34-35, 41); St. Sabas, the founder of the Lavra, bought a guest house at Jericho with the funds he inherited from his mother and built a guest house in his Lavra (Cyril of Scythopolis, 108) and St. Theodore of Chora built a hospital next to the monastery at Chora in Constantinople (*Vita S. Theodori Choraeota*, c. 29, p. 12). Imperial largesse for philanthropic institutions took various forms: two hospices were built by Justinian in Jerusalem, one for the visiting strangers, the other for the sick poor (Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.6.25) and houses for the poor in other cities (ibid., V.9.34-38), the *xenon* of Sampson in Constantinople was rebuilt and enlarged by the emperor after its destruction during the Nika revolt (ibid., I.2.14-16), two hostels were built in the palaces of Isidore and Arcadius (ibid., I.2.17), and another one restored near the church of St. Panteleemon (ibid., I.9.12-13).

[2281] Severus, *Hom.* 27, *PO* 36/4 (1974), 589. On Byzantine philanthropic institutions see D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J. 1963), 158-170, 263-264; K. Mentzou-Meimari, Ἐπιχορηγικὴ εἰδυῖᾳ ἱδρύματα μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τῆς εἰκονοκλασίας, *Βυζαντινά* 11 (1982), 243-308.

[2282] See P. Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Hanover and London 2002).

invented to commemorate the events of Christ's life, and introduced in large cities. The increasing number of festivals was also related to the construction of new churches. To the Christian holidays celebrated by all Christians were added a number of local Christian holidays, associated mostly with the miraculous power of saints' relics.[2283] *P.Oxy.* XI 1357, dated to the early sixth century, contains the Oxyrhynchus calendar of festivals. The list is incomplete with fifty-five festivals taking up one hundred forty-four days of the year. If one takes into account the lacuna in the papyrus, there were probably sixty-one festivals in total. In its surviving form, the calendar lists twenty-five churches, whilst the original figure may have been about forty.[2284] Ecclesiastical processions from one church to another commemorated events related to these churches. The density of churches in the centre of the city of Philippi is to be explained by the procession held by Christians through the sites where the events of the life of St. Paul took place. These are the prison at the site of Basilica A, the place of Paul's flogging at the podium of the Macedonian heroon where the Octagon was built, and the palaestra at the site of Basilica B, where a miracle was performed and Paul arrested. In Thessalonica, the procession departed from the cathedral and followed the itinerary of St. Demetrius from his capture at the Kataphygi, his meeting with the emperor Galerius in the Church of the Acheiropoietos, to his capture at the basement of the baths where the crypt of the Church of St. Demetrius later stood.[2285] Special litanies were also held in exceptional circumstances. In 560 St. James, metropolitan of Edessa, purified Amida from the doctrine of Chalcedon by means of a special ritual. He entered the city and went into the church; he brought incense and set it before the altar; he then gave the order for the people to carry it over to the streets and houses and all round on the walls. The same purification ritual was repeated in other cities.[2286] Christian processions through the cities were organized on various occasions. The inhabitants of the city of Pessinus in Galatia Salutaris asked St. Theodore of Sykeon to save them from drought, meeting the saint outside the walls and returning with him in procession. The next day a liturgy was held in the cathedral Church of the Holy Wisdom and a litany procession then reached the Church of the Holy Angels outside the walls. There they read the Gospel and, singing psalms, returned in a procession to the Church of the Holy Wisdom. The saint, while celebrating the communion, asked God to bring rain and the ceremony was concluded with a feast.[2287] Other festivals were organized to commemorate special political or military events and acquired a religious tone. In Alexandria a victory of Theodosius I, following a miraculous intervention of Saints Cyrus and John, was commemorated in an annual festival, termed εἰκόνων, after an image of the emperor set up to celebrate his victory.[2288] Through festivals and processions, the power of the Church and of the emperor was thus promoted and strengthened.

The Christian festivals of the liturgical year became opportunities for public celebrations, ritual processions, public speeches and various social and economic activities. People gathered from neighbouring towns and villages and people came from afar to attend the *panegyris* of saints who were popular in districts larger than that of a single city.[2289] Choricius draws a vivid picture of the festivals of Gaza, which still manifested overtones of pagan tradition. The mood of the festivities, the joyousness of the participants, the intense commercial activities, the colourful tents of merchants and the crowds from

[2283] Severus, *Hom.* 125, *PO* 29 (1960), 247-248. See also Joshua the Stylite, c. 32 (p. 23); Chronicon, *Or.* II.73 (pp. 45-46). M. Salzman, The Christianization of sacred time and sacred space, in Harris, *Urbs Roma*, 123-134 concludes that Christian festivals and anniversaries were established by the end of the fifth century, before the city's centre was Christianized.

[2284] Αἰώνιον, *The City*, ΧΟ.

[2285] A. Mentzos, Ἱερουργικὴ καὶ κρατοκυβερνητικὴ ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου στὴν πρωτοβυζαντινὴ κυριαρχία, *Βυζαντινά* 20 (2000), 55-56.

[2286] John of Ephesus, *Lives*, *PO* 19/2 (1926), 260-261.

[2287] *Vita S. Theodori Syceoti*, c. 101 (pp. 80-82), 107 (pp. 85-86).

[2288] Sophronius, *PG* 87/3, 3684B.

[2289] *Miracula S. Theclae*, *mir.* 29 (p. 360).

the neighbouring cities give a special character to those festivals. The program includes public speeches, singing and musical performances. The bishop provides feasts for all (εὐωχίας πολυθρύλητος, πρὸς ὅσους ἐφοίτων καὶ παλιτεύειν ἠξίουν), while the most prominent citizens entertain high-ranking visitors from other cities at public expense. All social groups participate in a relaxed spirit, including married women and maidens who uncover their faces to enjoy the festival. Christian festivals maintain the open and joyful aspects of earlier pagan ones. Tents made of colourful fabrics are set up garlanded with laurel branches, and a wide range of products was displayed for sale, including wares, gold and silver objects. The festivities extend into the night when glass vessels provide light and business is evidently thriving. During the religious part of the festival the bishop leads the procession through all of the churches of the city.[239]

Choricius employs a variety of terms and themes to underline the joy and pleasure of the festival. The festival in honour of St. Sergius was a time for enjoyment;[240] a θεμιτολὴς εὐφροσύνη,[241] In the festival in honour of St. Stephanus the orator employs allusions to classical texts to describe the festive character of the city: "our city has become energetic and comfortable, and the whole year is for us, so to speak, full of festivities (καὶ πᾶν βίος ἡμῖν ἀλθῆς τε καὶ πάνυ πανηγυρικόν), for, since the festivals increase with the addition of the new churches, and since the interval between is always short, the memory of the festival had just ended and the expectation is of the one soon to occur". Festivals offer people a break from life's difficulties. Choricius' words evoke an established literary tradition.[242] Gaza's religious festivals were very close to the ancient prototype of public amusement and joy at civic festivals. On the other hand, the Christian content of the festival is stressed through the description of the churches, the praise of the bishop, and through references to Christian virtues and spirituality. In his First Oration to bishop Marcian, Choricius uses a theme familiar from *enkomia* to saints and hagiographical texts. People benefit spiritually from the festival, for the feast brings to mind the pious deeds of saints, while at the same time festival participants enjoy themselves.[243] *Archon* Stephanus is praised for giving the festival on the inauguration of the Church of St. Stephanus a most appropriate tone of piety, combined with joyousness.[244] The orator points to a substantial difference between Christian festivals and earlier pagan ones, however: Christian festivals on account of their joyousness – but interestingly not because of their Christian spirit – bring people together, while pagan festivals are marked by a competitive spirit that creates animosity. The Christian festival has nothing in common with pagan festivals marked by contest and Dionysiac vulgarity.[245] It is clear that the emerging new civic solidarity

[239] Choricius, *Or.* I, *passim*, c. 3 (pp. 1-2), 65-93 (pp. 23-26); *Or.* II.59-75 (pp. 42-47). Feasts for all the urban inhabitants are mentioned after liturgies and processions: Vita S. Theodori Syceotae, c. 101.45 (p. 81), 122.7 (p. 98), 181.241 (p. 145). On the festivals of Gaza see F. K. Litsas, Christian of Gaza and his Description of Festivals at Gaza, JÖB 32/3 (1982), 427-436.

[240] Choricius, *Or.* I, *passim* c. 1: Ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολίζειν τὸ λίθινον ἡ κώμη, πανήγυρις γὰρ καὶ μετ' βαθ πάντων ἡδονῆ τε καὶ εὐθυμίᾳ φοιτᾷ, φέρε, φησὶ τὸ ἡμῖν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀφθόνως παρέσται.

[241] Ibid., c. 3 (p. 3.8). See also c. 87 (p. 24.12-15): τὰς οὖσας σκιὰς καὶ τέμνον ἐγχωσίας, ὃν οἱ φυλάξαν καὶ τετιμήκασι τοιαῦ, οἱ κοίτης μετὰ χαρᾶτων ἐπθρόοντα πανηγυρεῖ: αὐτὸν ἀφιβόλτερ ἢ κοῖλα μόνον ἐλέγχει τοῦ ἀκαιστοῦ κίνοσ ἀφιεβόνος ἐφ' ἡδονῆς.

[242] Transl. Litsas, *Choricius*, 151; Choricius, *Or.* II.77 (p. 46.1), 74 (p. 46.16-17) (Isocrates, *Or.* 4.46; Thucydides B.38).

[243] Choricius, *Or.* I.11 (p. 5.18-19): μετὰ κάτοπτρ τῆς ἐκφράσεως καὶ τελεστικῶν ἡμῖν συνεκπληρούσαν εὐθυμίαν.

[244] Ibid., III.65 (p. 65.14-18): τὸ δὲ τοῦ μὲν τὴν ἄκαιρον πανήγυριν καταγωγοῦς, τοῦ δὲ τὸ πρωτεῖῳ ἐξῆρεθέντοσ ἀστοῦ ἐπιγνῶν κοσμῶν ἐπιτυπόμενος ἐκφέρτερ τῷ κοσμῷ σταβλιόνοσ πρέπτοσ τοῦ μὲν ἐκείνο τῆς ἐκφορᾶς τὸ σπουδὲν βοπεῖ μόνον, τοῦ δὲ ἐκκλησιαστὴ καὶ φιλόφρων ἐν πρωτοπαπεύσεις.

[245] Ibid., *Or.* II.69 (p. 45.13-15): ἐλεῖ ἡμῶν ἐκκαίδεκα ἐνστρεφῆς ἔθνεα καὶ ἀκμαῖοι φυτοὶ καὶ ῥωμῆ τῆς ἐπικαμπείας καὶ πρέπουσα τοῖς ἀκτίνεσι σκιφοῖς. See also Theodoret of Cyrus, *Therapeutike* VII.13-14 (p. 299), VIII.69 (p. 335): καὶ ἀνοῖ τῆς πόλεσι πολυπαίσις καὶ αἰσχρογραφίας καὶ αἰσχρεμπορικοῦς πόρρωσις ἐορτῶν(ὑπτια. πανηγύρεις, οἱ μέθαι ἔρωτοι, καὶ κιθαιστὴ καὶ γέλωτο, ἀλλ' ἔρωτος θεῶτς καὶ ἐμφὲν λογῶν ἐκφάσεσν καὶ πρωτοτυφῶν ἐξκρεπόνεις κοσμικοφόνεν ἐκκρίσεις.

was Christian. At the festival in honour of St. Sergius, a Christian would have enjoyed "the church, the joyfulness of the market, and thereby the estates woven, the weaves loved, more by all".[246] These elements emerge from Choricius' description: the church, the market, and the enjoyment of the festive time. No other urban feature was important for the Christian festival, and in spite of the orator's classical vocabulary and allusions to ancient literary themes, a new type of the urban festival was gradually being shaped. Although business transactions during ecclesiastical festivals were condemned by some Church Fathers, in practice, the Church sanctioned them and included them in Christian festivals, through the establishment of temporary markets with booths for merchandise.[247]

Proliferation of Christian symbolism

The Christianization of urban space is visible both in the Christian churches and in various Christian symbols that marked urban structures in all cities. As early as the fourth century it had become an established tradition to mark objects, houses and public buildings with the cross. Crosses were engraved on lintels of doors of houses accompanied by prophylactic or apotropaic inscriptions, or they were made of bronze.[248] Shop doors were also marked with crosses. The governor of Edessa Alexander ordered that artisans hang crosses with five lightened lamps attached to them over their shops on the eve of Sunday.[249] At Rome icons of St. Symeon Stylites were hung on the entrance of all workshops giving them protection and safety, and in Antioch the icon of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger.[250] Nymphaea, column capitals and architraves of colonnades in major avenues, walls and pavements and public inscriptions were decorated with crosses and other Christian symbols. Names of pagan gods were erased from inscriptions, images of gods were defaced or torn down and were replaced with the sign of the cross. An inscription records that in the early fifth century, at the intersection of the main street of Ephesus, the magistrate Demosis destroyed a statue of Artemis and replaced it with a large cross.[251] During the reign of Justinian, in the middle of the Arcadiane at Ephesus a tetrapylon was erected with the statues of the four Evangelists.[252] In public warehouses and granaries (*horrea*), the pagan tradition of religious symbols was replaced with Christian iconography. In Caesarea Maritima, brooches with jewelled cross, displaying Christian abbreviations *IC XC A Ω*, and representations of saints decorated the walls of warehouses, although a eucharistic bread stamp and ampoules of St. Menas may suggest that the complex was operated by the Church.[253] Pagan monuments everywhere were purified with the sign of the

[246] Choricius, *Or.* II.70 (p. 45.13-15): ἀρκεῖ γὰρ τῆς εὐφροσύνης τὸ πάντας καὶ τῆς ἐπορᾶς ἡ κοσμήσις καὶ κρίσεις ἡ φιλοστοργία πάντ' ἀπόμεν. See also Friedländer, Κατάστικτοι ἐκκλησίαι, Paul Maskarinec, Ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ ἐκφάνεια, vv. 8-10: ἐλεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἐμφὲν ἐκφάσεσν ἐπιτυφῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κ. 18: εὐωφῆς πανήγυρις, κ. 19: πορφὴν εὐθηνῶν. Ibid., Paul Silentiarius, *Ἐκφάσεις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας*, vv. 139-139: οἷοι ἐν πρυβῆσιν τῆς τοιοῦτοι ἡ τέλος · κόσμοιο τε καὶ πρωτῆς εὐθυμοῦσι.

[247] Nicetas Serronius, PG 36, 880D; St. Basil, PG 31, 1020B-1021A; John Chrysostom, PG 48, 749; Mitsuko J. Theodore, 42.20-21 (p. 400); Vita S. Symeonis Iun, 80.1-2.

[248] John Chrysostom, PG 48, 820. See E. Dyggve/Jens Magnus, H. P. Mogens and M. J. Duncan-Flowers, *Ancient Ship Pottery in the Early Christian Period* (Urbana and Chicago 1980), D.E. See also supra, p. 220. In Ikaria a bronze cross was found in the debris on the lintel of a house that had fallen from the wooden door where it was hung. Wiseman, The City, fig. 19 in p. 512.

[249] Joshua the Stylite, c. 29 (p. 30) (a. 496-497).

[250] Theodoret of Cyrus, *Historia Philoth.*, XXVI.11 (II, p. 182). See also supra, p. 220.

[251] Grégoire, *Recueil*, no. 104; Foss, *Ephesus*, 52, and on crosses carved on various monuments, pp. 49-50.

[252] See supra, p. 220.

[253] J. Patrich, Warehouses and Granaries in Caesarea Maritima, in Raban and Holum, *Caesarea Maritima*, 146-173.

cross.[2405] On the cella wall of the temple of Artemis in Sardis, twenty-five crosses were carved along with the inscription *ΦΩΣ ΖΩΗ*. They were placed on the wall exactly opposite the small early Christian church, built next to the temple.[2406] On the steps of the great temple of Athena at Priene, crosses and graffiti were carved combining terms of pagan and Christian origin (ἄμβροσος, ἀνάστασις).[2407] Pagan scenes were often covered over with the sign of the cross in red paint, symbolizing Christ's blood.[2408] Pagan statues of deities, which in the past offered their protection to cities, were replaced by the Christian symbol of salvation. The statue of Artemis in Ephesus that was replaced by a cross has already been mentioned. Pagan civic symbols were also Christianized by means of the sign of the cross, as, for example, was the case with an engraved depiction of the city's Tyche and a footprint on a block of the pavement of the Marble Street of Ephesus, both symbols of good luck (Figure 55).[2409]

Prophylactic inscriptions and crosses were also marked on city walls. The tradition is rightly illustrated in an inscription from the walls of Constantinople set up by Theodosius II where Pallas' protection is still invoked: "Theodosii iussis gemino nec mense peracto Constantinus ovans haec moenia firma

FIG. 55. Crosses carved over the figure of the Tyche and a footprint engraved on a block of the pavement of the Marble Street at Ephesus.

[2405] See *supra*, pp. 362-363, 381.

[2406] Foss, *Byzantine Cities*, 95.

[2407] Wiegand, *Priene*, 478.

[2408] Romanus Melodus, c. 23.11.5-6 (p. 176): τὰ γράμματα / ἐκλάμπουσι χάριτι πορφυρίδος τοῦ αἵματος.

[2409] *Inscr. Ephesos* II, no. 580; see K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Ipsa dease vestigia* . . . Footprints divine and human on Graeco-Roman monuments, *JRA* 3 (1990), 85-109, esp. 105.

locavit tam cito tam stabilem Pallas vix conderet arcem".[2410] Anastasius had bronze crosses set up above the gates of Constantinople, when the city was threatened by the army of Vitalianus.[2411] At Philippi in Macedonia, the pagan reliefs carved on the rocks on the acropolis were purified by the sign of the cross. On the gate of Krenides a cross was carved, whilst on the east gate an inscription to Isis was purified with a cross and a dove. A copy of the letter of Abgar, king of Osrhoene, to Christ and Christ's response to him was carved, assuring Abgar that the city would be impregnable (the inscription dates to the fifth to sixth century); on the gate of Neapolis a prophylactic inscription was inscribed, invoking Christ and asking him to protect the city.[2412] In Edessa, the letter of Christ inscribed on the city's gates was considered a palladium.[2413] Procopius concludes that the closing phrase of the letter promising Christ's protection over the city (ὡς οὐδὲ ἡ πόλις ποτὲ βαρβάρους ἀλώσομαι ἔσται) was a later addition, since it is not mentioned in earlier sources. The inhabitants of Edessa, however, claimed that they found it with the letter and so inscribed it on the gates of their city in place of any other defence (καὶ ἀνάγραπτον οὕτω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνὶ ἄλλου τοῦ φυλακτηρίου ἐν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πεποίηνται πύλαις).[2414] Inscriptions evoking the protection of Christ or saints are found on the walls of several cities, as, for example, Smyrna, Cos, Miletus, Attaleia, Antioch and Theodoroupolis (Anasartha in Syria, 60 km southeast of Aleppo),[2415] and in smaller settlements.[2416] An inscription from Isthmus, in the Peloponnese, invokes Christ's protection over the emperor Justinian, his devoted servant Victorinus, and over the inhabitants of Hellas, whilst a second inscription from Corinth invokes the Virgin's protection over Justinian, Victorinus, and the inhabitants of Corinth.[2417] The restoration of a city offered the opportunity for engraving inscriptions invoking divine protection.[2418] On the gate of Theodoroupolis in Syria, the city's benefactors were recorded, namely, Christ, the emperors, probably Maurice and his son Theodosius, a local phylarch, the prefects, the bishop and the architect. To commemorate them further, their statues were also erected (a. 595).[2419] The map of Madaba depicts T-shaped symbols on the wall of Jerusalem between St. Stephen's gate and the southeast end of the city. They were probably Christian symbols, crucifixes or angels as described in Antiochus Strategos' account of Jerusalem's sack, preserved in Georgian;[2420] On the same map, the kastron Mefaa is represented together with a column and a cross on top of it standing just outside the city gate. In Hierapolis, in the province of Euphratesia, four inscriptions were carved on each side of a block on public display commemorating the signing of the peace treaty with the Persians in 532. Justinian and the general Rufinus are mentioned on one side. On the other

[2410] *CIL* III, no. 734.

[2411] John of Antioch 103 (p. 143.32-33).

[2412] Lemerle, *Philippes*, 84-91; Feissel, *Inscriptions de Macédoine*, nos. 222, 223 (p. 185-191); the prophylactic inscription on the gate of Neapolis, no. 223, pp. 189-190: Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ γενεσθαί σε τῆς Παρθένου Μαρίας σταυροειδῆς ἐν ἁμῇς βοήθει τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ στῆθι, εἰς ἅπαντας χρόνους καὶ φύλαξον τοὺς ἐν σοὶ κατοικοῦντας εἰς δόξαν σου.

[2413] Joshua the Stylite, c. 5 (pp. 5-6), 58 (p. 47), 60-62 (pp. 51-54).

[2414] Procopius, *De Bello Persico* II.12.26.

[2415] Grégoire, Recueil, no. 219: + ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς . . . (Miletus, a. 538), no. 221: ἅγια φύλαξον τὴν πόλιν Μάγνητων καὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας (on the exterior wall of the theatre transformed in a fort); no. 320: φῶς ζωή, Ἰησοῦς Κύριος Χριστὸς νικᾷ (Termessos); *IGSyr* II, no. 281 (a. 604); III/1, no. 785.

[2416] *IGSyr* IV, nos. 1811 (a. 551), 1812 (a. 570), 1813, 1814, 1815 (a. 573/74), 1726 (a. 563), 1598 (a. 546-547).

[2417] Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, Inventaires, nos. 16, 17 (pp. 279-281).

[2418] V. Pârvan, *Cowarbuti epigrafice la istoria creştinismului daco-romanu* (Bucharest 1911), 63: + Κύριε ὁ θεὸς βοήθει πόλεν ἀνανεουμένην Ἀμφίν.

[2419] *IGSyr* II, no. 288 (late sixth to early seventh century).

[2420] F. Conybeare, Antiochus Strategos' Account of the Sack of Jerusalem in AD 614, *English Historical Review* 25 (1910), 502-516. The archangel was depicted on gates of Italian city walls. J. Gardner, An Introduction to the Iconography of the Medieval Italian City Gate, *DOP* 41 (1987), 202-203.

side it is stated that the treaty was signed with the will of Christ and that the city was protected by the Apostles Peter and Paul (παραφυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων). On the third side of the block it is stated that the power of the cross averts the disasters of the war, whilst on the fourth side payment to the Persians is recorded.[2421] Various Christian symbols, namely crosses, olive branches and dolphins, were engraved on the walls of Dyrrachium and other cities in Albania.[2422] Christian symbolism has been recognized in the proportions of the parts of crosses engraved on gates and walls, which served to invoke divine protection.[2423] The location of churches by city gates also appears to have been intended to secure protection. In Thessalonica, the Octagon near the Porta Aurea was perhaps dedicated to St. Nestor, probably place of his martyrium, while at the other end, near the Porta Cassandreotika, the Rotunda was located. Furthermore, chapels were built into the towers of walls.[2424]

The Church claimed responsibility for the provision of divine protection over entire urban communities, and this assertion is made clear in church inscriptions: an inscription from the Church of St. Theodore at Gerasa, dating to 496, asserts that the saint will avert misfortune and protect the city (ἔρκος ἀλεξίκακον τελέθει κἀγήρασον ἔμμα ἄστει καὶ ναέτῃ καὶ ἐσοιμένοισι πολίταις).[2425] Severus of Antioch gives a rationalizing account of protection offered by saints over cities. Saints particularly protect the cities where they suffered martyrdom. They have a desire to fight for the faith, for which they won crowns and triumphs, and especially for the places of their martyrdom. They resemble athletes who, after they have won a victory, feel attracted to the place where they successfully competed.[2426] The belief that Constantinople was protected by the Theotokos was particularly developed in the sixth century.[2427] Sometimes Christian inscriptions on urban monuments invoked divine protection over the city through the use of magic symbols and language. An inscription, dating to the fifth or sixth century, built into the exterior wall of the theatre of Miletus, which was later transformed into a fort, includes a line of seven magic signs and a line of vowels. Below each sign, seven vowels in an oval represent the seven archangels, and are followed by an invocation to a saint to protect Miletus and its inhabitants.[2428] Once again pagan and Christian elements are found side by side.

Relics and Christian burial sites

According to the pagan tradition consequently sanctioned by Roman law, ancient cemeteries were located outside the city walls. The place of the dead was to be completely separate from inhabited urban space, the dead being considered a source of pollution.[2429] However, the rule was not absolute and exceptions were allowed for heroes' tombs in the civic centres. In Ephesus, along the Embolos, there were several honorific grave monuments of benefactors, political figures or men of letters, and in the Upper Agora stood the tomb of C. Memmius, grandson of Sulla. Tombs of heroes are found in the agora

[2421] P. Roussel, Un monument d'Hiérapolis-Banbykè relatif à la paix "perpétuelle" de 532 AP. J.-C., in *Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud* I (Paris 1939), 367-372.

[2422] A. Baçe, Fortifikimet e antikitetit të vonë në vendin tonë (Fortifications de la Basse Antiquité en Albanie), *Monumentet* 11 (1976), 45-74.

[2423] H. Kalaya, *The Architectural Information Through Symmetry* (Amman 1988), 61-69.

[2424] E. Marki, "Ένας άγνωστος οκταγωνικός ναός στη Θεσσαλονίκη, *Makedonika* 23 (1983), 117-133; Feissel, *Inscriptions de Macédoine*, no. 95 (pp. 94-95). See also Vaes, Christliche Wiedervewendung, 324-325.

[2425] Welles, Inscriptions, no. 300 (p. 478).

[2426] Severus, *Hom.* 97, *PO* 25 (1943), 137.

[2427] Av. Cameron, The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople, *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978), 79-108.

[2428] Grégoire, *Recueil*, no. 221.

[2429] Cicero, *De legibus* II.58; *Dig.* 47.12.3.5; *CJ* 3.44.12 (a. 290).

of many ancient cities.[2430] In ancient Messene in the Peloponnese, several monumental tombs of heroes and of local families are located *intra muros*, in the civic centre and by the stadium-gymnasium.[2431] In some cities that included many uninhabited areas inside the walls, burials of all periods are to be found scattered within the line of walls.[2432] Local tradition among the Hellenized populations in southwestern Asia Minor, in Lycia and Pisidia, dictated close proximity of funerary structures and monumental tombs to public monuments of cities and towns or near houses.[2433] Christianity gradually introduced radical ideological changes concerning death. Death, having been defeated by Christ, was now to be regarded differently. No longer feared, it now led to eternal life.[2434] For Christians death is not *thanatos* but *koimesis*, for the body will be resurrected.[2435] Theological arguments were presented against the belief in the pollution of the dead.[2436] However, the ancient tradition of placing cemeteries outside the urban gates was respected by Christians for a long time.[2437] A sense of disgust for corpses is expressed in several passages of the Church Fathers, who refer to the need for burials *extra muros*.[2438] The first Christian burials in the cities occur in churches, a practice that appears before the end of the fourth century. On the grounds that burials were forbidden in cities by ancient tradition, John Chrysostom complains that burials in churches should not be allowed. In fact, since Christ dwells in churches and since the Holy Spirit operates there and the mysteries are performed there, churches are the last place where burials should be permitted.[2439] Ephraem the Syrian stipulated in his testament that he should not be buried in the sanctuary of a church, nor in any other place of the church, for it is not appropriate that a decomposed body be deposited in a holy site (*hagiasma*) of God.[2440] A law of Theodosius in 381 attempted to prevent burials in churches. In Constantinople, burials above ground are to be transferred outside the walls, while burials in churches are prohibited.[2441] In the capital, however, the expansion of the city brought about burial within the city walls, because land previously lying outside was now included in the inhabited area. The forum of Constantine was built on the site of ancient cemeteries, while cemeteries

[2430] Scherrer, Topography, 77 & fig. 3-10; in the area of the Athenian agora: R. S. Young, Sepulturae intra urbem, *Hesperia* 20 (1951), 110-130; G. V. Lalonde, A Hero Shrine in the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 49 (1980), 97-105. For the association of heroa with civic centres see R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (Paris 1951), 194 ff.

[2431] P. G. Themelis, *Ἥρωες καὶ ἡρῶα στὴ Μεσσήνη* (Athens 2000), 88 ff.

[2432] C. K. Williams II, The City of Corinth and its Domestic Religion, *Hesperia* 50 (1981), 409.

[2433] M. Waelkers et al., The 1994 and 1995 Surveys on the Territory of Sagalassos, in *Sagalassos* IV, 23; S. H. Cormack, The Roman-Period Necropolis of Ariassos, Pisidia, *AnatSt* 46 (1996), 1-25, esp. 24; G. E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey* (London 1978), 54 fig. 4, 87 fig. 10J, 93 fig. 11E, etc.

[2434] A. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Washington, D.C. 1941), esp. 1-22 (death as sleep), 44-71, (death as *migratio ad Dominum*), 72-87 (death as a birth); P. Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, transl. H. Weaver (New York, 1982), esp. 29-92; Duval, *Auprès des saints corps*, esp. 23-47; B. Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude* (Köln and Opladen 1965); H. Brandenburg, Coemeterium. Der Wandel des Bestattungswesens als Zeichen des Kulturumbruchs der Spätantike, *Laverna* V (1994), 206-232.

[2435] John Chrysostom, *PG* 49, 393; *PG* 50, 550. For the sixth century, see Choricius, *Or.* II.27 (p. 35.11): θάνατον τὸν τῶν θεμις εἶναι θνητὴν; Romanus Melodus, c. 2.18.1 (ὕπνον δὲ νόμιζον εἶναι τὸν θάνατον μου); 14.6.4 (ὁ λυτρωτὴς κοιμηταὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ λογῳ); 14.6.2-3; 14.6.7 (τοὺς νεκροὺς λέγων κεκοιμημένους); 14.7.1-2, etc. For the use of the word in the papyri see J. Kramer, Was bedeutet κοιμητήριον in den Papyri?, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 269-272. The word κοιμητήριον is also very common in inscriptions: Ivison, Burial, 107.

[2436] See, for example, Clement of Alexandria, *PG* 1, 988-992; Epiphanius, Panarion, *PG* 41, 228C ff.

[2437] John Chrysostom, *PG* 63, 811; *PG* 61, 560; *PG* 55, 68.

[2438] See, for example, John Chrysostom, *PG* 55, 68: δεινοῦδε, σφοδρὰ, βδελυγμὸς; *PG* 58, 676; Gregory of Nyssa, *PG* 46, 737.

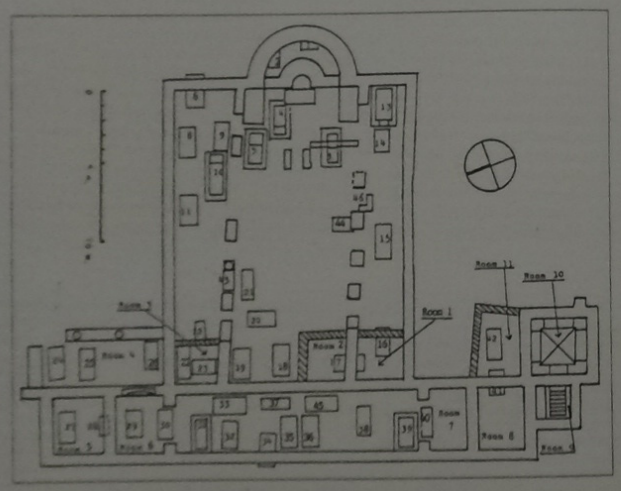
[2439] John Chrysostom, *PG* 58, 676.

[2440] J. S. Assemani, *Opera omnia quae extant graece, syriace, latine in sex tomos distributa*, vol. 2 (Rome 1743), 232.

[2441] *CTh* IX.17.6.

outside the Constantinian walls were included in the city territory when Theodosius built his new line of fortifications.[2442]

The traditional view is that Christian cemeteries emerged around early Christian martyrial churches in the suburbs of cities and were later transferred to the inhabited area.[2443] Christian basilicas were often built in cemeteries above pre-existing tombs, and Christian burials continued under the church floor or clustered around the church itself. The number of burials in churches was sometimes considerable. For example, under the Cemetery Basilica of Stobi forty-six tombs have been found (Plan 58).[2444] Initially, the bodies of martyrs and saints were buried in churches, whilst near them were deposited the bodies of socially distinguished Christians. It was Constantine the Great who set the trend by planning his burial.



PLAN 58. The Cemetery Basilica at Stobi with burials.

[2442] Dagron, *Le christianisme*, 15 ff., esp. 15 ff.

[2443] E. Dyggve, The Origin of Urban Churchyard, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 13 (1952), 147-158 and the questions raised by Sotiriv, Intramural Burial, 493-494; idem, Cemetery Churches of the Early Byzantine Period in Eastern Illyricum: Location and Martyrs, *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29 (1984), 117-124; N. E. Emmanouelides, *Το δίκαιο της ταφής στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens 1989), 156-166; U. M. Fasola and V. F. Nicolai, Le necropoli durante la formazione della città cristiana, *ACAC XI* (1966), 1153-1206.

[2444] Sotiriv, Churches, 63-65.

in the Church of the Holy Apostles, next to their relics.[2445] Such initiatives were criticized and ridiculed by pagans[2446] and often led to confrontation. In the *Life of Porphyry*, the decision by the Christians to bring the body of the deacon Barochas into the city provoked a strong reaction on the part of the pagans.[2447] In the writings of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, the power of the relics lay in their physical proximity to the worshippers, whose imagination would set off and work miracles. Despite his belief in the pollution (μύασμα) of corpses, in one of his Homilies, John Chrysostom insisted that exceptions should be made for the bodies of the martyrs. Saints' tombs inspire zeal in the souls of the Christians who visit them. The impression is produced in the worshippers that the saint is in the larnax, present and visible. The Christians visiting the martyrs' tombs frequently have visions (φαντασίας), in which the saint, whose remains lie in the larnax, appears to be standing in front of them or calling to them from the entrance of the church. Many sick people remain by the saints' tombs until they are cured. Often the view of a martyr's dress, or the memory of a word, arouses the Christians' soul and revives fading memories (διήγειρε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἀνέστησε διαλάμπουσαν). The pagans, to whom the Homily was addressed, would have accepted this line of argument, so close, as it is, to Neoplatonic ideas. Chrysostom further explains why the relics of saints were not a source of pollution,[2448] whilst similar ideas are found in other texts. The appropriation of a relic was expected to reinforce the memory of the saint in the minds of the faithful and offer protection.[2449] In the effort to justify martyr worship, Christians recalled the veneration of the tombs of pagan heroes in the very heart of their cities. Thus the belief in pollution from the proximity of tombs had no grounds and was merely a consequence of foolishness and ignorance (ἀνοίας γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἀμαθίας ἐσχάτης).[2450] Relics of martyrs in churches surrounded the cities like walls and defended them.[2451] The bodies of the martyrs were distributed to cities and *komai*. Considered saviours of souls and bodies, they were honoured as protectors and guardians of cities (ὡς πολιούχους τιμῶσι καὶ φύλακας). They also acted as intermediaries toward God and divine grace was conveyed through them.[2452] The translation and deposition of relics inside the cities was conducted with great ceremony and many people from all social classes followed the ceremonial processions.[2453]

In the early sixth century, Severus of Antioch elaborated on the power of relics and their significance to the Christians. He repeated the idea known from the early Church Fathers that Christ's death and resurrection had defeated the pollution of the tombs.[2454] Churches were sanctified with bones or sacred parts of the martyrs' bodies, or with the dust that remained, which had the power to heal all kinds of diseases and chase demons away. Severus reminds his flock that the relics of St. Babylas were capable of striking down the idol of Apollo in Daphne. The demonstrable strength of saints' relics constituted a powerful

[2445] C. Mango, Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics, *BZ* 83/1 (1990), 51-61.

[2446] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, c. XI (p. 224.15-18); Julian, *Against the Galilaeans*, Loeb vol. 3, 355B-360A; idem, *Ep.* 56.

[2447] *Vita S. Porphyrii*, c. 23-25 (pp. 20-22).

[2448] John Chrysostom, *PG* 50, 527-534, 551, 555 ff. Gregory of Nyssa, *PG* 46, 740A-B describes the physical proximity of Christians to the relics in similar terms. P. Brown, *Society and the Holy*, 16-17, although recognizes the importance of proximity of relics with the community, stresses more the ceremonial aspects of the martyrs' feast: the reading of the *Passio* would reveal the tension between "clean" and "dirty" power. This, however, may have been a stronger element in the Church in the West.

[2449] *Vita S. Theodosii* conc., 97.15-16 (ἀνάψῃς τὸ ἐμπύρευμα καὶ ἀπαρτάσῃς ἐμβάλῃς τοῦ λειψάνου τῶν ἁγίων ταφῇ).

[2450] Theodoret of Cyrus, *Therapeutike* VIII.29-32.

[2451] John Chrysostom, *PG* 49, 395: καὶ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτι εἰ δυνάσαι κλειταρᾷ ἡ πόλις ἅμα τοῖς λειψάνοις τῶν ἁγίων τειχίζεται.

[2452] Theodoret of Cyrus, *Therapeutike* VIII.10. See also idem, *Historia Philoth.* X.8 (I, p. 45l); XVI.4 (II, p. 82); XVII.10 (II, pp. 46-48); XXI.9 (II, p.82): competition among cities and villages to secure the relics of saints.

[2453] John Chrysostom, *PG* 63, 467-472, 473-478.

[2454] Severus, *Hom.* 70, *PO* 12/1 (1919), 46.

statement against paganism: "The pagan demons fly away when the martyrs are near. They disappear like flame, they cry, they admit their defeat, they call the martyrs' name and they ask them not to pursue them". From hagiographical sources we learn that saints were buried in holy places, namely churches, although sometimes, on account of their humility, they chose a modest location for their burial.[2455]

In the middle of the sixth century, however, Christians were still expressing a disgust for saints' relics. Someone experiencing revulsion at approaching the corpse of St. Martha in a vision is punished with a severe disease. St. Symeon recommends that the man be taken to the corpse of St. Martha, where he was miraculously cured.[2456] Other hagiographical texts of the sixth century refer to attempts by Christians to appropriate relics. The remains of St. Euthymius, founder of the Lavra east of Jerusalem, were securely closed in a tomb "so that no one could open the tomb and carry off the remains".[2457] Because St. Sirin (+ 558/9) predicted that conflict (φιλονεικία) would arise among Christians over her body, she had asked under oath those who were close to her, to give her body to a certain pious Bateos, who built an *eukterion oikon* for it to be deposited.[2458] The *Life* of St. Anastasius Perses (+ 628) contains a lengthy account, in which a bishop and a monk are the main protagonists, of the secret efforts to recover the saint's relics from Persia and deposit them in his monastery in Jerusalem. The saint's relics were venerated in every city they were carried through.[2459] They were given to individuals for healing purposes and were placed in private *eukteria*. In this text there is no discussion regarding pollution by the corpses nor, indeed, any expression of disgust. The relics are cut into pieces and distributed to bishops, urban communities and private individuals. They are placed on the body of the sick, usually around the neck, or their *myron* is given to the sick to drink or to be anointed with (*apomyrisma*). Itinerant monks carried relics with them from one city to another. The monk who possessed the relics of St. Anastasius went through Palestine, Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia to the capital, Abydos and Ascalon, and everywhere miracles were performed. In other sixth-century hagiographical texts, contact of people with saints' corpses becomes more emotional and intimate. People jostled each other to kiss the corpse of St. Alypius Stylites (+ during the reign of Heraclius).[2460] Instead of feeling disgust for the corpses, Christians now felt intimate veneration for the saints' relics. In the second half of the sixth century, the ideological change regarding death was complete, so that for Agathias, the Persian belief in the pollution caused by death was an alien custom.[2461]

Burials in churches were considered a privilege, on account of the proximity to saints' relics and were so reserved for ecclesiastics and members of the upper class. Ecclesiastical and lay élites gradually created a *mobility of holiness*, thus instituting a means of self-promotion in social and political terms, to enhance their power and authority in the urban communities.[2462] The early stage of the introduction of privileged burials into churches is described in the *Miracles* of St. Thecla. A leading person of the local community, an officer of the imperial administration, wishes to be buried in the church of the saint, for he considers this to be the greatest possible honour (μείζονα δὲ καὶ περιφανεστέραν ἄλλην οὐχ ἡγένετο ταύτης τιμήν), on account of the proximity to the saint's relics. Bishop Maximus grants the permission

[2455] *Vita S. Marthae*, c. 24-25 (pp. 271-272) and c. 31 (p. 276); Moschus, 2949C-2952A; Cyril of Scythopolis, 64.22.

[2456] *Vita S. Marthae*, c. 35-36 (pp. 279-280).

[2457] Cyril of Scythopolis, c. 25.30 (transl. R. M. Price, 58).

[2458] *Vita S. Sirin*, c. 27-28 (pp. 130-131).

[2459] Pinain, *Saint Anastase, Translatio reliquiarum*, p. 99 ff.

[2460] *Vita S. Alypii Stylitae*, c. 25 (p. 168.23-30).

[2461] Agathias II.23.7.

[2462] A. Sarnellas, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50-600 A.D.). The Christianization of the East: An Interpretation* (Tübingen 2002), 178-256.

for the burial. The saint, however, appears to the workers digging the grave in the church floor, and stops them. She also appears to the bishop at night urging him not to allow the pollution (βοσκοδόκα) caused by tombs to be brought into churches. Tombs and churches have nothing in common (μήτε γὰρ εἶναί τι κοινὸν τάφοις καὶ εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις) except for those who, although are dead, are considered still to be alive, such as holy bishops.[2463] From the second half of the fifth century, references to the disgust felt towards the corpses begin to diminish in the texts, and in the sixth century the evolution was completed. Burials *ad sanctos* offered the hope that the saints would mediate with Christ for the salvation of the deceased, while it offered a feeling of relief to the relatives. Although Justinianic legislation repeats earlier laws forbidding burials in churches, other laws sanction burial inside the line of the Theodosian walls in Constantinople.[2464] Burials on the ground of monastic communities also reinforced the trend. St. Matrona designated the first floor of her monastery outside Constantinople, for the ossuaries of deceased nuns (*koimeterion oikon*), while the second floor became an winter *eukterion* and the third floor another one for the summer.[2465] The privileged burials of the members of the Church and of the upper class *ad sanctos* are documented at all archaeological sites.[2466] In the sixth century, burials were arranged underneath the floor of urban churches in all cities. Private funerary chapels were also attached to many churches, while small funerary churches were constructed near or above family tombs.[2467]

Christian cemeteries were increasingly incorporated into the urban fabric within the walls, although most of the cities continued to use the old *extra murai* cemeteries.[2468] While Christian ideology was the major factor responsible for the incorporation of cemeteries in the urban environment,[2469] other reasons also played a role. First, because of the impressive increase in the size of urban centres from the fourth to the middle of the sixth century in all the areas of the empire (with the exception of the northern Balkans), ancient cemeteries which previously lay outside the walls were included in the newly developed residential districts. In some cases such cemeteries had ceased to function as burial places and so were subsequently covered by dwellings. In other cases, when the city expanded, funerary monuments were left untouched, houses being built around them, so that tombs were incorporated in residential districts. Such arrangements were not unknown in the ancient world. In Rome, for example, along the Via Appia, which was lined with tombs, houses and villas later appeared, intermingled with the tombs. At Gerasa, in the area between the Church of St. Theodore and the temple of Artemis, was a cemetery, abandoned when the city plan was established in the middle of the first century A.D.[2470] Outside the Magnesian Gate of Ephesus an early Byzantine residential district expanded among funerary monuments on the site of a necropolis.[2471] It has been mentioned above that when Constantinople was enlarged with the

[2463] *Vita S. Theclae*, 70-71, *mir.* 30 (pp. 370-372).

[2464] *CJ* I.2.2 (a. 381); I.2.18; *Novella* 59.5. The earlier legislation on pollution of tombs was formally abolished by the *Novella* 53 of Leo VI.

[2465] *Vita S. Matronae*, c. 46 (810 F).

[2466] See J.-P. Sodini, "Les tombes privilégiées du IVe au VIIIe siècle en Occident. Actes du colloque tenu à Créteil les 16-18 mars 1984 (Paris 1986), 233-242 with a list of burials *ad sanctos* from the eastern provinces; J.-P. Sodini and K. Kolokotsas, *Aliki, II. La basilique double* (Athens, Paris 1984), 219-227 with particular attention to the Balkans; Duval, *Auprès des saints corps*; idem, *Loca sanctorum*; Snively, Intramural Burial, 494-495.

[2467] idem, Churches, 65-67.

[2468] Claude, *Stadt*, 97-99.

[2469] See recently G. Cantino Wataghin, The Ideology of Urban Burials, in Brogiolo and Ward-Perkins, *The Idea*, 147-163.

[2470] Fisher, Buildings, 293.

[2471] Foss, *Ephesus*, 83-84. Other examples: Pessinus: J. Devreker, Pessinus (Pessinonte) 1987, KST 10/2 (1988), 321. In Jerusalem the Justinianic walls included the third-century cemetery. At Caesarea, the cemetery outside the walls was filled

construction of the new wall of Theodosius, ancient cemeteries were included inside the new line of fortifications. In Stobi, poor houses in the area that expanded to the southwest outside the walls were built directly over the earlier tombs. Presumably this district developed in response to the housing needs of the local population that sought refuge near the walls during the Gothic invasions.[1472]

It has been suggested that abandoned urban buildings where burials appeared may sometimes have belonged to the Church.[1473] If this were the case, the spread of burials in the cities would have been sanctioned and coordinated by the Church. The pattern of Christian burials in Corinth has been studied in a comprehensive study. In the fourth century no burials are attested inside the city's sacred boundary (*pomerium*). In the fifth century martyria and cemetery basilicas over tombs of saints in the old extramural cemeteries appear. Earlier pagan tombs are destroyed or buried by the new constructions, and their stones removed. Within the basilica near the Kenchreai Gate at Krancion, dating to the late fifth or early sixth century, stood 31 tombs inside and around, many with multiple burials. The Martyrium Basilica dedicated to St. Kordatos, on the site of the north cemetery, had 55 burials. The construction of the new shorter wall in the early fifth century reduced the city's *pomerium*. Thus burials appeared outside the new walls in districts which were previously inhabited and located inside the old walls:[1474] the Christian Cemetery of Lerna Hollow (fourth to sixth centuries) on the site of the sanctuary of Asclepius, the Shrine of the Spring of Lerna, and the Gymnasium. By the mid-sixth century or most likely in the later part of the century, burials appeared in the forum, especially in the shops and bath behind the south stoa, in the central shops, in the court of the Peirene Spring, and in the southwest corner of the bema between the upper and lower agora (*supra*, p. 241, Plan 18). The area of the ancient forum was left outside the early Byzantine walls and was gradually abandoned. It is possible that on the site of the south basilica a Christian church was built, which may explain the appearance of burials on the south side of the forum.[1475] The ideological change that occurred by the sixth century may be seen in the change of the meaning of the word cemetery (κοιμητήριον-cemeterium), whilst at the beginning it indicated a single burial or a holy burial, from the early sixth century the term indicated in Christian theology entire Christian cemeteries.[1476]

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with sill in the early fourth century and the upper part of the tombs that were still visible above the new fill were dismantled: V. Forti, *Cursores* – 1994-1999, *ESI* 112 (2000), 37. The western gate of Gadara and the wall was built in the early fourth century in a cemetery: S. Kerner and A. Hoffmann, Gadara – Umm Qeis, Preliminary Report on the 1991 and 1992 Saesasons, *ADAJ* 37 (1993), 363, 378 pls. 1 and 2. In the Balkans, when in the fourth century a new residential district was extended outside the walls of Philippopolis, the cemetery was transferred, but in Diocletianopolis, when the city expanded to the north, the south and the east, some of the earlier cemeteries were included in the new districts (fourth century): J. Valeva, Les nécropoles paléochrétiennes de Bulgarie et les tombes peintes, *ACAC XI (1986)*, II, 1245-1246. When early Byzantine Thessalonica expanded, earlier burials were included inside the Byzantine walls: F. Petsas, *AD* 22 (1967), Chr. B2, 396-398. Early Byzantine Delphi was expanding to the west, partly on the site of the Roman cemetery: Pétridis, Delphes, 687.

[1472] Mikulčić, Stobi, 103.

[1473] R. Meneghini and R. Santangeli Valenzani, Sepolture intramurarie a Roma tra V e VII secolo D.C. – Aggiornamenti e considerazioni, *Archeologia Medievale* 22 (1995), 283-290.

[1474] Another example is found at Thasos, where to the south-east of the theatre a Christian cemetery appeared in connection with the destruction of the city wall: *BCH* 119 (1995), 671-672.

[1475] Frieze, Burial, 103-104, 111-112; Sanders, Problems, 179 and fig. 6.3 (p. 180) on the early Byzantine wall of Corinth leaving out the forum, and pp. 180-184 on burials in the forum. For a late date of the burials in the Roman forum of Corinth (late sixth or early seventh century) see K. W. Slane and G. D. R. Sanders, Corinth: Late Roman Horizons, *Hesperia* 74 (2005), 243-297. For the introduction of burials in the cities of Greece, see N. Laskaris, Παλαιοχριστιανικά και βυζαντινά νεκροταφεία στις πόλεις της Ελλάδας: Διαπιστώσεις και προβλήματα, *Βυζαντινά* 16 (1996), 295-330; Bowden, *Epirus Vetus*, 170-172.

[1476] É. Rebillard, *Κοιμητήριον et coemeterium*: tombe, tombe sainte, nécropole, *MEFRA* 105 (1993), 975-1001.

At a later stage, burials appeared scattered inside the urban space, in abandoned ancient buildings, abandoned churches, and large decaying houses. This process of the final disintegration of urban space is usually dated to the era of invasions and will be examined in this context in the next chapter.

The sixth century marks the end of the ancient city. In urban space and culture, paganism was a fact of the past. Pagan monuments, now abandoned, were dilapidated or adapted for new uses in a Christian context. Cities were profoundly and permanently Christianized. A new Christian articulation of urban space was created and a new unification of urban identity achieved. At the same time, the Church's control over most urban socio-economic activities caused a shift in interest from secular to ecclesiastical concerns and gave the cities mediaeval characteristics. The transformation and crisis of the upper class and its identification with the ecclesiastical establishment enhanced the power of the Church. In its early stages, the disintegration of the ancient cities, the abandonment of the traditional ancient civic structures and institutions and the introduction of agricultural installations and burials, was directly connected with, and coordinated, by the Church.

FIG. 56. The ruins of the Church of St. John in Ephesus and in the background the hill of Ayasoluk with the Byzantine citadel.

CHAPTER 14

THE TWO MODELS OF THE EARLY BYZANTINE CITY

One can say of cities, 'Tell me how their space is distributed and I will tell you who governs or owns them.'[347]

By the end of the sixth century, two models of city had developed in the Byzantine empire. One was formed in the course of the early Byzantine period through a process of the evolution of the ancient city within the new socio-economic and political circumstances and a new cultural environment. The other model constituted a new form of city, created on the initiative of the state or of local communities in response to the invasions. The form of both, however, crystallized over the sixth century. The first model belonged to the past, although it continued to evolve in the early Byzantine period, albeit profoundly transformed, reaching the seventh century as a relic of antiquity still surviving in the early Middle Ages. It was shaped by demographic, socio-economic and cultural dynamics, which altered the cities' ancient physical appearance. The forces informing the new model of the city were different and primarily military and Christian, which led to an emphasis on fortifications, naturally defensible locations and churches, and thus to an urban legacy quite different from that bequeathed by the earlier model.[348]

The twilight of the ancient city

Earlier, in particular in Parts III and IV of this book, we described in detail the transformation of ancient civic space from the fourth century onwards and its final form at the end of the early Byzantine period. Civic centres had ceased to be used as administrative and social centres for urban communities. The commercial centre of major cities had long been dissociated from the administrative centre and transferred to other parts of the city. In early Byzantine cities, markets were located along the streets, a Hellenistic and Roman urban arrangement, and a Roman type of market, the macellum, continued to function. At the same time, new markets developed around churches. The concentration of pagan monuments, heroa and temples were tied to the cities' ancient tradition and pagan religion, and the decline in autonomous civic administration made the forum/agora obsolete. Buildings serving the administration were abandoned or were taken over by powerful individuals or persons of the lower classes, being sold or leased for other uses. They were subdivided and used for industrial and artisan activities

[347] L. Martines, *Power and Imagination. City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York 1979), 241.
[348] See recently Zanini, The Urban Ideal.